



THE GUARDIAN

London

Monday November 22 1971

5p



Rhodesia must decide today on race issue

From PETER NIESEWAND: Salisbury, November 21

With the Anglo-Rhodesian summit a step away from deadlock, the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, was today studying memoranda from Rhodesia's two nationalist leaders. Both urged that no independence should be granted before African majority rule.

Sir Alec's negotiations with the Smith regime are bogged down over principle, which calls for progress towards ending racial discrimination. Today, Mr Smith and his negotiators met privately to decide Rhodesia's tactics and possible concessions. The Rhodesian leader called a Cabinet meeting.

In talks over six days, I understand, the British have shown no sign of being the first to budge on the major points of difference. The next move must come from Mr Smith.

Smith may be ill or injured

By PATRICK KEATLEY, Diplomatic Correspondent

Friends of the Rhodesian African Nationalist leader, Rev. "Daba" Sithole, who is in Salisbury, worried that something has happened to his physical well-being while in Salisbury City, and that this was why Ian Smith and his ministers refused the request Sir Alec Douglas-Home to him. One of the people most concerned is Mr Sithole's married daughter—a university graduate who now lives in this country in England and is married to an African university teacher. She is Miss Siphelele Sithole, who prefers to keep her married name confidential out of fears that her privacy may be invaded—not least by the unscrupulous representatives of the Smith regime who have been using her father's name since the UDI.

Israelis unruffled by Sadat speech

From WALTER SCHWARZ: Jerusalem, November 21

The Israeli Chief of Staff, General Bar-Lev, and the Defence Minister, General Moshe Dayan, both briefed the Cabinet on the military situation in the light of yesterday's unceremonious by President Sadat that "Egypt's decision is a fait accompli".

Israeli leaders reacted in sorrow rather than anger to what is regarded as one series rather than a state of a new policy. The net did not debate the issue, and spent most of its time in a new austerity measures designed to reduce inflation. It was confirmed today that Meir will go to Washington next month. No precise date has been set for a meeting with President Nixon. The President's recent visit to Israel had some difficulty in getting for all his senior officers and officials to be on at the same time. General Dayan, who was to have gone to Washington next week, has put it off until after his visit to the United States. Her visit is evidence of a new era of cordial relations between the two countries. The Foreign Minister, Eban, said in a prepared statement that Sadat's speech showed a new internationalism. Mr Eban went on to show a total disregard for the interests and aspirations of the Jewish people. The speech combined a stress with political rhetoric, and Israel must take it very seriously in its own interests.

While the Rhodesians grappled with the problem today, Sir Alec attended high mass at the Anglican Cathedral of St Mary's in Salisbury. An African canon, preaching a sermon on the Good Samaritan, said: "It is necessary not only to know what is good, but to act on it."

Yesterday morning, Mr Smith called for an adjournment to stage off a possible breakdown. When the talks resume tomorrow morning, Sir Alec and his colleagues will hear whether the Rhodesians are prepared to accept greater racial integration for the country's five million Africans.

The Foreign Secretary was handed a three-page memorandum by the detained nationalist leader, Mr Joshua Nkomo, at a secret meeting yesterday. It was strongly supported by Mr Nkomo (no independence before African majority rule).

I understand his sentiments were similar to those expressed by the Reverend Ndhlovu Sithole, in a seven-page memorandum smuggled out of Salisbury last week. Mr Sithole totally rejected Britain's five principles, and added: "The people of Zimbabwe strongly feel that we cannot entrust our future and that of our children and our children into the hands of a white minority which has shown itself over the last 30 years to be interested in us only if we accept the status of third-rate citizenship in the land of our birth."

"We are therefore uncompromisingly opposed to the granting of independence before majority rule." When Mr Smith informed Sir Alec yesterday that he would be allowed to see Mr Nkomo, the British were also told they would not be permitted to meet Mr Sithole. I understand this was mainly because Mr Sithole is not a political prisoner. He is serving a six-year prison sentence for plotting the assassination of Mr Smith and two of his Ministers.

The Rhodesian decision was also influenced by the fact that Mr Sithole had a seven-page manifesto smuggled out to Sir Alec last week. Mr Nkomo, who has been held without trial for seven years, was brought to Salisbury by air and met Sir Alec for 70 minutes. He is now back in Gwelo, a camp in the middle of a game reserve and surrounded by a high security fence.

Mr Martin Lequesne, a Foreign Office official, who is a member of Sir Alec's team, returned to London last night to report to ministers. It is thought he will tell of "difficulties" in the talks. Officials last night said that written reports had been received from Sir Alec. It was no unusual for an official to return to elaborate on them. Smith urges US to buy chrome, page 2

BOSS links extensive, says MP

A group of Labour MPs investigating the activities in this country of the South African secret police claimed last night that cooperation between the secret police and British security was far more extensive than was originally feared. Mr James Wellbeloved, who has already questioned the Home Secretary about the activities of the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS), said: "This cooperation goes far beyond normal police relationships."

Mr Maudling said in the Commons on November 11 that liaison between Scotland Yard and South African security was limited to crime and the protection of individuals and property.

From their investigations, the MPs are also satisfied that BOSS agents have:

1. Waged campaigns of intimidation and harassment against South Africans living in Britain and British opponents of apartheid.

2. Repeatedly attempted to plant informers inside anti-apartheid groups.

3. Used bribes and coercion in attempts to force South Africans in this country to inform on people regarded as enemies of the Vorster regime.

Mr Wellbeloved, MP for Erith and Crayford, is working with Mr Alex Lyon (York), Mr Arthur Davidson (Accrington), and Mr David Stoddart (Swindon), on the group's steering committee. They are now to place two questions before the Foreign Secretary.

The first will ask the Foreign Office for the numbers of South African embassy staff working in Britain in each year between 1964 and 1971. The second will ask the FO to divulge the designation and responsibilities of all South African diplomats in this country.

The group is convinced that there have been between eight and 20 BOSS agents working in Britain. Their activities have been traced back to 1964 and most appeared to be working under diplomatic cover.

The MPs began their inquiry three weeks ago. Two months earlier, Mr Wellbeloved was contacted by a Special Branch member who had been dismissed after a Scotland Yard investigation.

Mr Wellbeloved said that a sizeable number of people had been contacted in recent weeks and had supplied much important information.

"There is no longer any doubt in our minds about the size and scope of the work of BOSS in Britain... or the sort of work they have been performing."

No one, he said, would object to normal cooperation between police forces on criminal matters. "But the cooperation we have investigated goes far beyond this. The South Africans have repeatedly contacted British security for information about people who have broken apartheid-linked laws such as the Land Tenure Act and the Pass Law."

The cooperation was extreme during the campaign to stop the 1970 tour by the South African cricketers, said. BOSS agents here have repeatedly contacted South Africans whose passports have been marked "never to return" and offered to help them in return for working as informers.

It was learned last night that Scotland Yard is still inquiring into recent attempts to bribe South Africans in London for information about Bantustan leaders who recently visited Britain.

Peter Harvey



WORLD-WIDE demonstrations on a woman's right to choose abortion took place at the weekend. Above: A section of the London protest. Another view, page 7

Shadow election troubles Tribune

By FRANCIS BOYD, Political Correspondent

Mr John Mendelson refused to comment last night on reports that he had resigned as chairman of the Tribune group of Labour MPs because he has been left off the group's list of candidates for the Shadow Cabinet election. He is one of several MPs said to be unhappy at the way the group is setting up opposition to pro-EEC candidates. Others do not want to be directed about whom to vote for and one Tribune member is quoted as having said on seeing the list: "I take instructions from no one."

It has also been suggested that Mr John Mikardo, who has just finished his year as chairman of the Labour Party, would not be one of the group's best hopes. But this was flatly denied last night by a member, who said that while Mr Mikardo was thinking of taking things about whom to vote for and one Tribune member is quoted as having said on seeing the list: "I take instructions from no one."

The pro-EEC group is suffering heart-ache over the preparation of the most promising 12: should Mr Hattersley, Mr Rodgers, and Mr Taverne be included? The odds are on Mr Hattersley.

So much organisation is going into the compilation of two rival lists that the chances of any "independent" candidate are slender, unless moderate Labour MPs, sick of factions, plump for one or two middle-men.

Silence on Parkhurst death

By PETER HARVEY

maximum security prison yesterday, and will continue investigating today. The inquiry began after the brutally beaten body of Bernard Brown, aged 34, was found in a corridor in cell block B on Saturday afternoon.

Brown, from Leeds, had completed a year of a five-year sentence for robbery and attempted theft. He was a category "B" prisoner—not more than an average security risk—and prison officers told detectives that he was quiet, kept to himself, and avoided trouble. Detectives yesterday discovered that Brown was returning to his cell with dozens of

Jones heads militant challenge on jobs

By KEITH HARPER

A number of large industries are likely to be affected by industrial disruption on Wednesday as thousands of workers take the day off to join the mass TUC rally at the House of Commons on unemployment.

The rally will be the culmination of a series of demonstrations organised by the TUC in various parts of the country. At one of these in Coventry yesterday, Mr Jack Jones, the transport workers' leader, told more than 2,000 people that if employers created unemployment this would be fought with strike action.

Workers from all over the country will take part in the mass lobby of MPs on Wednesday and attend a meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster. The worst affected industries are likely to be building, the docks, and engineering.

Production of national newspapers could be affected, since the print unions have asked their members to support the demonstration. Officials of the London district committee of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, which represents 250,000 people, have asked all their members to participate.

Mr Jones is the main instigator of the TUC meeting with the Prime Minister next Monday. He would have like every possible pressure exerted on the Government on Wednesday and had demanded this day as the proper time for Mr Heath to meet the TUC General Council. But Wednesday was not convenient for Mr Heath.

Mr Jones said at Coventry that anger over the highest unemployment figures for 30 years—they stand at 970,000—was rising so rapidly that "the lame ducks have become mad dogs." It would be a miracle if the total jobless did not rise beyond a million.

In the Midlands 15 men were chasing one job. The Government were "misery makers who either do not care or won't care about the problems they are creating." To a loud cheer, he said that the trade union movement must adopt action policies along with the Labour Party to force the Government out of office.

Mr Jones argued that working people were being caught in a vicious squeeze. New technology and new methods were cutting jobs on the one hand, while the lack of expansion failed to provide jobs on the other. He urged a programme of strong measures to reflate the economy, including an immediate stimulus to consumption by increased wages, particularly for the lower paid, and a "decent increase" for pensioners.

This is the kind of programme the TUC leaders will be demanding that the Government should carry out when they see Mr Heath next week. They also want a further lowering of the Bank rate and interest rates to encourage investment, and an accelerated programme of public building works.

Cabinet meeting, page 5

productivity on a plate

Every time your staff use Luncheon Vouchers they're doing themselves, your firm and the country a bit of good. Because people who can always afford a proper meal—in a choice of over 19,000 restaurants throughout the country—cheerfully produce more and better work. And absenteeism declines. The LV concept is a welfare scheme that gets results. Which is just what the country needs.

Profit from reading our brochure All Luncheon Voucher benefits—including a Tax Concession—are detailed, for your eyes only, in our latest brochure. Ask your secretary to put it in front of you—or, if you wish to be really discreet, you could post the coupon to us yourself.

Luncheon Vouchers Ltd.
23 Golden Square, London W1R 4AD
Telephone: 01-734 5711/0682. Telex: 582268

Send my employer, Mr. _____, the Luncheon Voucher Service brochure, please.

Company _____
Address _____
Postcode _____

The extra you can afford to offer

A LANDSLIDE on the Isle of Sheppey yesterday sent half of a cottage and a section of roadway over the cliff edge. No one was hurt.

Cliff fall

OVERSEAS NEWS

'Time for battle'— but Sadat keeps his options open

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT: Beirut, November 21

President Sadat's weekend announcement that Egypt has decided to fight and that "the time for battle has arrived" caused concern but not despair in Beirut. There were signs that the Egyptian leader had left the door open and that he was not contemplating any immediate resumption of hostilities. Although he told the troops during his tour of frontline Suez positions that there was no alternative to battle, he did in fact outline an alternative with his observation that negotiations could be resumed if Israel replied "positively" to the Jarring proposals.

Breakdown for US diplomacy in Middle East

From ADAM RAPHAEL: Washington, November 21

President Sadat's bellicose speech is seen here as escalating the Middle East war of words but — in the absence of significant troop movements — not as a direct prelude to armed hostilities.

The State Department would only say publicly that the speech was being evaluated and that clarifications were being sought from Cairo. Privately, diplomatic sources thought it unlikely that Egypt would attempt a canal crossing or break the ceasefire in advance of the United Nations debate on the Middle East which begins on December 1.

Nevertheless, if not an immediate harbinger of war, the speech appeared to mark the breakdown of the United States diplomatic initiative for an interim settlement to open the Suez Canal and the attempt to bring the two sides together for indirect talks in New York. Mr Donald Bergin, the head of the US interests section in Cairo, is now reported to have been told that Egypt is no longer prepared to discuss the reopening of the canal until Israel agrees to withdraw from occupied Arab territories and to accept the Jarring memorandum of last February. Even before this, the possibility of an interim peace appeared to fade because of Israel's refusal to proceed until the US had clarified its position on indirect talks and agreed to resume sales of Phantom fighter bombers.

The Administration, which has had a firm policy of saying as little as possible in public, was forced by this impasse last week to acknowledge that Egypt had in the past two weeks received up to 10 TUI6 aircraft flown by Soviet pilots. As the Secretary of State, Mr Rogers had publicly praised the Soviet Union less than a week pre-

viously for showing "restraint," the statement was made with maximum embarrassment. On Wednesday, the Soviet Ambassador, Mr Dobrynin was called to the State Department and asked to explain by Mr Rogers. What was said is not known but US military analysts are certain that the TUI6s, a subsonic twin-engine bomber code-named "Badger," which can be equipped with standoff missiles and fitted as a reconnaissance aircraft, has not changed the balance of power. Indeed, the outdated Badgers of pre-1965 vintage are reported by aviation experts to be "minicrafts" for the Israeli Phantom and the Mirage fighters. The TUI6's Kelt missiles, primarily anti-air weapons, are said to be no threat to Israel's navy and have been practically useless for land targets. Thus the mystery why the Soviet Union should choose to stir up the arms race and risk provoking a new round of Phantom deliveries remains unsolved. "Nobody has any real idea why they did it," said one US official, "maybe it's just the easiest way they could reassure the Arabs."

The other diplomatic hurdle facing the Administration is Mrs Meir's proposed visit. The State Department sounded noticeably unenthusiastic about it last week but if she does come in December, Mr Rogers, if not President Nixon, would almost certainly have to see her. At this stage there appears no weakening in the Administration's resolve to hold up Phantom sales until it is convinced that the balance of power has shifted. President Sadat's speech could have introduced a new factor but the Administration is thought unlikely to be prepared to give up its peace efforts — which is a new round of Phantom deliveries would signify — so long as there is any hope.

Hell hath no fury...

Mrs Shirley Chisholm, the black Congresswoman from New York who is campaigning for the Democratic Presidential nomination, yesterday accused some fellow political leaders of trying to sabotage her campaign.

A congressional black caucus, headed by Mr Charles Diggs (Dem. Michigan) has called for a national black political convention in the spring. Mrs Chisholm said this was part of a subtle expression of feeling against her. It was a sign of fake chauvinism.

Colour check on garden jungles

Aldridge-Brownhill, Staffordshire, is to photograph in colour all the untidy gardens in its area to see which tenants do not dig their gardens. It will then decide what action to take against the offenders. "These uncultivated gardens are a nuisance and an eyesore and we are determined to stamp them out," said Councillor Lionel Webb yesterday.



King Hussein of Jordan blows out the candles of his birthday cake. The King was celebrating his 36th birthday

Compromise on Okinawa vote

Tokyo, November 21

The Japanese Government has decided to put its agreement with the United States on the return of Okinawa to a vote on Wednesday, because an Opposition boycott has blocked ratification of the treaty. The Government must force a vote by November 25 to allow the 30 days of deliberations in the Upper House required by the Constitution.

If the Upper House fails to act on the measure in that time it will automatically become law. Opposition parties have been boycotting parliamentary proceedings after the Government forced the agreement through a committee session on a snap vote.

The Government had decided to force a vote in the Lower House on Saturday evening. Opposition members were absent. But a last-minute bid to achieve a compromise finally succeeded, after drawn-out negotiations. Opposition parties and Left-wing radical groups

outside Parliament oppose the agreement because it allows US military bases to remain on the island of Okinawa after its return to Japanese control next year. Okinawa has become a major emotional issue since it was captured by the US in the Second World War and turned into a key military bastion. For a time, it was used as a base for B-52 bombers raiding Indo-China. Opponents of the Okinawa agreement, already ratified by the US Senate, have staged street demonstrations in Tokyo that have turned into Japan's worst riots for more than a decade.

According to officials, the parliamentary compromise will allow Opposition parties to ask further questions in the committee, although the vote taken Wednesday will stand. Whatever happens, the Speaker of the Lower House has authority to call a plenary session on Wednesday and allow a vote in spite of Opposition objections. Observers believe the Government's reluctance to force the issue through Parliament was caused by a desire to avoid further riots.

Mr Krag leaves

The Prime Minister of Denmark, Mr Jens Otto Krag, left London last night after four days of talks with Mr Heath and other Ministers.

"I had a very satisfactory meeting and exchange of views with Mr Heath," he said at Heathrow Airport. "The Common Market and the expected membership of Norway and Denmark, and also other political questions such as the NATO security conference."

Mr Krag flew to Brussels for a meeting with the EEC Commission and for discussions with the Belgian Prime Minister.

Chief Rekeyi Rangwena is bitter and disappointed at his reception by the British negotiators here. The chief came to Salisbury from the Iryanga mountains where he and his tribe have been hiding for a year, to ask Sir Alec Douglas-Home for help. But he has not been permitted to meet the Foreign Secretary. Instead on Friday, while the Foreign Secretary spoke to a group of seven African businessmen describing themselves as "Salisbury citizens," Chief Rekeyi was interviewed in the garden by the Attorney-General, Sir Peter Rawlinson.

Federal gains in Brussels

Brussels, November 21

French-speaking federalists made a major advance in local elections in the Brussels region today, according to the early returns. If maintained, the voting trend could affect the selection and programme of the next Belgian Government.

More than a million Belgians, a sixth of the total electorate, took part in today's voting and King Baudouin decided not to appoint a Prime Minister designate until the results were known.

First returns gave the federalist Democratic Front (DFD) more than 50 per cent of the vote in several communes of the capital.

General Elections, two weeks ago, upheld the parliamentary majority of the outgoing Socialist-Christian coalition headed by M. Gaston Eyskens. But it now seems likely that the DFD, allied with a splinter group, will win an overall majority on Brussels city council. This could not be ignored in the formation of the central administration.—Reuter.

Smith urges US to buy chrome from Rhodesia

Washington, November 21
Mr Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, in a Magazine interview today, urged President Nixon to permit United States purchases of Rhodesian chrome in defiance of the international trade embargo.

Mr Nixon last week signed legislation that would permit resumption of chrome imports from Rhodesia. But he withheld action to implement it in an apparent effort not to weaken the British hand in the Salisbury negotiations.

In the interview, Mr Smith acknowledged that Rhodesia had been hurt by United Nations sanctions imposed in 1966 after he had broken with Britain.

"In our circumstances I have no hesitation in saying that our problems have been aggravated by the economic war waged against us," Mr Smith said. "I argued that most British would favour any help the United States gave to Rhodesia."

He said: "I don't think anybody would deny that the majority of people in Britain today are in favour of a settlement. ... Unhappily, those circumstances anything that the Americans did in our support — in our favour — would have the support of the majority of the people in Britain."

Mr Smith added: "as for the US I would say: Buy Rhodesian Chrome. Resumption of chrome exports to the US would have an attitude other than 'I don't get our own way' or 'the answer is to fight.'"

certain equipment now denied to her, but ready to supply to Communist countries. Mr Smith said he was not talking about supplies of weapons.

"We have always said our way in the past and we are happy to pay the way in the future. We're prepared to do the task, whatever it is, to prepare the land, produce the food, fight against communism — if we have access to the tools."

He added: "Our main opponents are the people who are trying to trip us up — are trying to pull us back — are members of the free world who are proving a far greater impediment to our progress than the members of the Communist world. We would like to bring this incredible stupid position to an end."

In reply to a question, Mr Smith said that perhaps the majority of black Africa was inevitable. But he stressed that not all black politicians thought this was the way to go.

"It applies to some — may even the majority today. I believe this is a sign of lack of vision," Mr Smith added. "I think in the last few years a position has changed in the correct direction — in the direction of reason. And I believe that with time, with the advance of maturity, with the civilisation of these people will be an attitude other than 'I don't get our own way' or 'the answer is to fight.'"

China 'asks to talk'

From MALCOLM DEAN: UN, November 21

France has officially invited China to take part in the Big Four talks on the Middle East. The invitation was issued through the French Embassy in Peking several days after the October 20 vote that seated China in the United Nations, according to a report in the "New York Post."

The Big Four have not met since September 8, and although no specific date has been arranged for the next talks, France will be acting as host.

China, who in her maiden address to the United Nations last week condemned the powers for making deals behind the backs of the Palestinians, would almost certainly reject any invitation to take part in the talks.

What interests observers is the effect this will have on the Soviet Union, which has not wanted to be seen to be making deals with the West. This could stall a further Big Four talks.

MPs aged 18?

Sixth formers should be eligible to stand for Parliament or as candidates in local elections, according to Mr Marcus Fox, MP (C Shipley), who is to ask the Home Secretary, Mr Maudling, to reduce the minimum age for candidates from 21 to 18.

Manager hurt

Mr Carl Pound, aged 25, shop manager, was detained by three men in a car on Saturday night. They threatened to beat him and he was taken to a nearby house. He was released after a short time.

Chief says, 'Sir Alec snubbed me'

From PETER NIESEWAND: Salisbury, November 21

The Rangwena's ancestral homeland has been designated "white" in terms of Rhodesia's Land Tenure Act, and the tribe's villages have been destroyed by officials. Chief Rekeyi, who has been living in caves and grass shelters for 12 months, said after his failure to see the Foreign Secretary, "I saw other others drive up in their big cars and go in to talk with Sir Alec."

"We held our talks sitting at the end of the garden, in chairs that were still wet from the rain. The British

were polite and they listened. But the way my party was treated was a disgrace. I was treated as a chief."

Chief Rekeyi said he and two of his headmen had told Sir Peter how their people had been "chased off" their land. "I told him that we were having to live like animals, like hyenas, in holes in the mountains. I told him of how our huts were burnt down and our cattle taken away."

"I told him that the Rhodesian Government had offered me money to become

a recognized chief. I said that I had turned it down because I did not want money. I wanted my people to have their land."

"I told Sir Peter that I have been in court for refusing to leave my land, but that would never leave. I asked him if the Queen would agree to be moved by the British Government to another place."

Chief Rekeyi said he had invited the British to see for themselves how his people lived, "but they said nothing." They had said very little during the time he was with them. "When I left was not at all happy."

TELEVISION

WORLD IN ACTION gave a camera-team to a redundant Welsh foundryman and let him ride the country finding out why he was out of work, why the firm's customers didn't want his product. (ITV 8.0). "Horizon" tells the mysterious story of The Crab Nebula (BBC-2, 9.20). Then Prunella Scales in a sailors' bar in Malta ("Thirty-Minute Theatre," BBC-2, 10.15).

BBC-1

9.38-11.55 a.m. Schools. Colleges: 9.38 Discovering Science: 10.0 Merry-go-Round: 10.25-10.45 Science Extra-Biology: 11.0 Year's Journey: 11.25 Drama. 12 noon-12.30 p.m. Hardy Heat-ing Co. Ltd. 12.50 p.m. A Chance to Meet Huw Wheldon. 1.30 Woodentops: Watch with Mother. 1.45-1.53 News. 2.54-5.55 Schools. Colleges: 2.54 Maths Today-Year 1: 2.58 Going to Work: 2.50 Maths Workshop-Stage 2: 3.13 Europe on the Move: 3.35 Twentieth Century Focus. 4.10 Prospectus. 4.35 Adventures of Parsley. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.45 Blue Peter. 2.50 Runaway Summer. 7.30 News. 5.44 Magic Roundabout. 5.50 News. 6.0 London This Week. 6.20 Entertaining with Kerr. 6.45 Ask the Family. 7.5 Z Cars: "Danny Boy's Home," part 1.

BBC-2

11.0-12.20 a.m. Play School: People at Work—Building. 7.10 p.m. Dressmaking. 7.30 News. 8.30 Atlas South and Jones. 8.50 Call my Bluff. 9.20 Horizon: The Crab Nebula. 10.15 Thirty-Minute Theatre: "Blues in the Morning." 10.45 News. 10.50 Late Night Line-Up.

ITV

LONDON (Thames)

10.20 a.m.-12 noon Schools: 10.20 Drama: 11.0 Seeing and Doing: 11.18 Picture Box: 11.38 It's Fun to Read: 11.50 Primary French. 1.40-2.32 p.m. Schools: 1.40 Finding Out: 2.0 Captured Years: 2.22 My World. 2.33 This Week. 3.10 All About Riding. 3.40 Adventures of Rupert Bear. 3.55 Peyton Place. 4.25 Tea Break. 4.55 Lost in Space. 5.00 News. 6.0 Today: Bill Grundy. 6.20 Crossroads. 6.40 Opportunity Knocks! 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.0 World in Action: One in a Million—one man's look at unemployment. 8.30 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes: "The Affair of the Tortoise." 10.0 News. 10.30 X Film: "Paranoiac," with Janette Scott, Oliver Reed. 12 midnight Women in a Man's World: Patricia Mann, in advertising.

ANGLIA—11.0 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools. 3.55 Katie Stewart Cooks. 4.20 Cartoon. 4.25 Anglia News. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.55 Flipper. 5.15 Free-wheelers. 5.50 News. 6.0 About Anglia: 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.0 World in Action. 8.25 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes. 10.0 News. 10.30 Probe. 11.5 Champions. 11.58 News Voices.

ITV

MIDLANDS (ATV)

11.0 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools: 1.40 Finding Out: 2.0 Captured Years: 2.22 My World. 2.33 This Week. 3.10 All About Riding. 3.40 Adventures of Rupert Bear. 3.55 Peyton Place. 4.25 Tea Break. 4.55 Lost in Space. 5.00 News. 6.0 Today: Bill Grundy. 6.20 Crossroads. 6.40 Opportunity Knocks! 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.0 World in Action: One in a Million—one man's look at unemployment. 8.30 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes: "The Affair of the Tortoise." 10.0 News. 10.30 X Film: "Paranoiac," with Janette Scott, Oliver Reed. 12 midnight Women in a Man's World: Patricia Mann, in advertising.

ANGLIA—11.0 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools. 3.55 Katie Stewart Cooks. 4.20 Cartoon. 4.25 Anglia News. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.55 Flipper. 5.15 Free-wheelers. 5.50 News. 6.0 About Anglia: 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.0 World in Action. 8.25 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes. 10.0 News. 10.30 Probe. 11.5 Champions. 11.58 News Voices.

WEST & WALES (HTV)

11.0 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools

11.0 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools: 1.40 Finding Out: 2.0 Captured Years: 2.22 My World. 2.33 This Week. 3.10 All About Riding. 3.40 Adventures of Rupert Bear. 3.55 Peyton Place. 4.25 Tea Break. 4.55 Lost in Space. 5.00 News. 6.0 Today: Bill Grundy. 6.20 Crossroads. 6.40 Opportunity Knocks! 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.0 World in Action: One in a Million—one man's look at unemployment. 8.30 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes: "The Affair of the Tortoise." 10.0 News. 10.30 X Film: "Paranoiac," with Janette Scott, Oliver Reed. 12 midnight Women in a Man's World: Patricia Mann, in advertising.

ANGLIA—11.0 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools. 3.55 Katie Stewart Cooks. 4.20 Cartoon. 4.25 Anglia News. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.55 Flipper. 5.15 Free-wheelers. 5.50 News. 6.0 About Anglia: 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.0 World in Action. 8.25 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes. 10.0 News. 10.30 Probe. 11.5 Champions. 11.58 News Voices.

RADIO

RADIO 4 330 m.; VHF

9.25 a.m. News. 9.27 Farming Week. 9.45 News for the Day. 10.0 Regional News. 10.45 Today: News. 7.40 Today's Papers. 8.45 Thought for the Day. 9.0 Regional News. 9.15 News. Today: 8.40 Today's Papers. 8.45 David Franklin: Plays and music in the Open Air. 9.0 News. 9.15 Start the Week with Richard Baker. 9.30-10.15 Schools: 9.35 World of Work: 9.50 Movement and Music. 10.15 Daily Service. 10.30-12 noon Schools: 10.30 Half grown-up. 11.0 Singing Together: 11.20 Springboard: 11.45 Growing Up. 12 noon You and Yours. Monday 12.25 a.m. Desert Island Discs. 12.55 Weather. Preview. 1.0 World at One. 1.30 Archers. 1.45 Listen with Mother. 2.0-2.30 Schools: 2.0 Exploration Earth: 2.20 Music Box: 2.30 Speak: 2.40 Movement. Mime and Music. 2.50 Afternoon Theatre: "Empire of the Senses." 3.0-3.30 Story Time: Saki on Animals. 3.0 P.M. Reports. 5.50 Regional News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Secret Life of Kenneth Williams. 6.45 Archers. 7.0 News Desk. 7.30 My World: 8.0 "The Sealup" by Anton Chekhov. 9.59 Weather. 10.0 World Tonight. 10.45 Today in Parliament. 11.0 Book. 11.15 News. 11.31 Market Trends. 11.38 Close.

RADIO 3 194, 464 m.; VHF

7.0 a.m. News. 7.5 Morning Concert: Mozart, Haydn, Schumann, Rimsky-Korsakov. (8.0 News). 9.0 News. 9.5 Talking with Michael Parkinson. 8.2 Jimmy Tarbuck. 8.30 Bill McGee. 9.0 Talking with Michael Parkinson. 9.15 News. 9.45 Talking with Michael Parkinson. 9.50 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten. 9.45 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten. 9.45 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten. 9.45 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten. 9.45 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten. 9.45 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten. 9.45 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten. 9.45 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten. 9.45 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten. 9.45 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten. 9.45 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten. 9.45 News. 10.0 News. 10.15 Purcell and Britten. 10.45 News. 11.0 News. 11.15 Purcell and Britten. 11.45 News. 12.0 News. 12.15 Purcell and Britten. 12.45 News. 1.0 News. 1.15 Purcell and Britten. 1.45 News. 2.0 News. 2.15 Purcell and Britten. 2.45 News. 3.0 News. 3.15 Purcell and Britten. 3.45 News. 4.0 News. 4.15 Purcell and Britten. 4.45 News. 5.0 News. 5.15 Purcell and Britten. 5.45 News. 6.0 News. 6.15 Purcell and Britten. 6.45 News. 7.0 News. 7.15 Purcell and Britten. 7.45 News. 8.0 News. 8.15 Purcell and Britten. 8.45 News. 9.0 News. 9.15 Purcell and Britten.

Pressure on Phnom Penh 'decreasing'

Saigon, November 21

North Vietnamese troops were reported here today to have withdrawn from positions threatening Phnom Penh. But there were continued suggestions that South Vietnamese troops would be flown to the Cambodian capital. One report said Communist troops were still harassing the neighbourhood of the capital. At least twenty government soldiers were said to have been killed in a raid 14 miles south-west of the city.

Two thousand Communist troops retreating from the outskirts of Phnom Penh were reported to be moving to the West in small groups to avoid air attacks. Two rocket sites and 30 ammunition barges were said to have been destroyed by advancing Cambodians.

The South Vietnamese Command reported that helicopters and aircraft had raided targets in Cambodia from dawn yesterday to dawn today. American spokesmen said US B-52 bombers had attacked supply lines. Spokesmen added that the air strikes included the dropping of 500 tons of bombs on the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos and its extensions in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

During one raid, by Phantoms and Corsairs, gun positions were attacked near the Laos-North Vietnam border. There were also attacks near to Mu Gia pass, where military equipment has been assembled for shipment down the Trail to Cambodia and South Vietnam.

In the Central Highlands aircraft helped South Vietnamese militia and mountain troops to defend a camp and village attacked by guerrillas. More than 50 guerrillas were reported killed. In a night attack by guerrillas 14 soldiers and seven civilians were killed. Communist troops fought with American paratroops near Da Nang.

The South Vietnamese said in all 88 Communist soldiers had been killed in the past three days. American losses were three killed and eight wounded. — Reuters and UPI.

● In Washington, the Roman Catholic bishops in US resolved by 158 votes to 38 that the Vietnam war had become "an immoral conflict." The speedy end of the war was "a moral imperative of the highest priority."

Victor Zorza writes, page 11

IF PRESIDENT Yahya Khan was waving palm fronds at the Indians in his speech calling for better relations between the two countries he seems to have achieved little more here than to create a chill wind. There has been no official reaction — ironically the Indians celebrate the same Muslim festival as the Pakistanis — but there is no reason to doubt that the Government will react in much the same way as the cocktail parties and bazzars of Delhi.

The speech is seen here as directed at the world at large and at the West Pakistanis, calculated to demonstrate that Yahya has done everything humanly possible to resolve the tensions and, if war comes, will have been forced into it. His call for the return of the 10 million refugees in West Bengal "who left their homes and hearths in a moment of fear and panic" is regarded with near amazement and so is his plea for Indian cooperation in the resettlement.

Delhi sticks firmly to its view that the problem of East Pakistan is an internal matter for Pakistan and that Yahya is simply trying to get himself off the hook by internationalising it. In its simplest form the argument is that the restoration of normality in the East, with the consequent reassurance for the refugees that they can return to their homes, will resolve that part of the crisis which must affect India. But it all hangs entirely on action in Islamabad.

The schizophrenic attitude

While the danger to Kashmir continues to preoccupy India, there are signs that Peking is courting Bangla Desh. Harold Jackson reports from New Delhi.

Menaces from left and right

here was neatly epitomised this morning when, bang on nine o'clock the air raid sirens wailed out over the city and everyone promptly ignored them. By no stretch of the imagination could one describe the atmosphere as one of war fever, though the possibility of major fighting is discussed widely in a cool sort of way. The estimates of when it might come vary from three weeks to six months, with equally convincing arguments to back each guess.

The right wing, or some bits of it, positively want a war. This is partly to avenge the atrocious on Hindus, which get wide coverage in the newspapers here and are impossible to assess objectively. It is also to get rid of the menace of Pakistan once and for all by supporting the establishment of Bangla Desh as an independent nation and mortally crippling Pakistan's military and economic position.

It has the attraction of all simplistic solutions to complex problems, but is a minority view. The more thoughtful Indians accept that the problem of Bangla Desh is inseparable from that of Kashmir, and that India has little to gain

from action on the Eastern front. It is generally accepted that the military aspect of the East Pakistan problem offers few difficulties, though there is some scepticism about the more rose-tinted army assessments of the speed with which the campaign would be completed.

But an Eastern campaign would inevitably be followed by a Pakistani counter-attack in the West, which for all practical purposes means Kashmir. No one doubts that, as in 1965, this would swiftly bring in the United Nations and the Big Powers, who have no appetite at all for monkey business in this highly sensitive strategic area.

One possible aspect of any subsequent negotiated settlement could well be a call for a referendum in East Bengal to determine its future status. And that, without question, would be followed very smartly by a Pakistani call for a referendum in Kashmir.

Just as the Awami League's election victory in East Bengal and its aftermath leaves little doubt about the outcome of any vote there, so the 90 per cent Moslem population in the Vale of Kashmir makes any dis-

cussion of a Kashmir referendum pretty academic. Pakistan's loss of its eastern wing would be countered by India's loss of an area which has been the main invasion route of just about every conqueror of the sub-continent.

Quite apart from the strategic implications, the political consequences within India could not be countenanced for a moment. So Mrs Gandhi pursues a policy of wait and see and tries to stir the world to bring pressure on Yahya Khan to deal with his own problems. The messages which have gone to him from the British and others by diplomatic sources have been said to be pretty crisp in tone, which may have some bearing on his weekend speech. Reports say that the first version of the speech did not carry the placatory paragraphs and that it was amended later.

Whether this represents some sort of diplomatic deal is anyone's guess.

The main question is what attitude the Chinese would adopt and to what extent they would be prepared to bluff and puff on India's northern border to draw pressure away from the Pakistan forces in the West. They seem to be playing it all

ways at once, in one breath responding favourably to India's idea of restoring ambassadorial representation and in the next attacking Indian interference in Pakistan's affairs at the United Nations.

Some diplomatic observers think the Chinese have now written Yahya off as a loser and are simply letting him down gently, and this is to some degree supported by such indications as Chou En-lai's response to Mrs Gandhi's message of congratulation on China's accession to the UN. He did not have to be quite so fulsome in his hope that friendship between the two countries would "grow and develop daily," particularly in the present circumstances.

There are also suspicions that the Chinese have started moving closer to the Bangla Desh "Government" in Calcutta and that gift packages are arriving for the Mukti Bahini forces operating against the Pakistan army in the East.

● Reuters reports from New Delhi that Pakistani shell fire killed four Indian civilians and wounded nine others in the Assam border town of Karimganj, according to an official statement.

Russia delays Namibia ruling

From ANTHONY ASTRACHAN

United Nations, November 21
The Russians are reported to be holding up a meeting of the Security Council because it might give the Secretary-General more political power in a particular case than they think he should have in any circumstances.

The issue is Namibia (South-west Africa) and, according to Western and African diplomats, if the question came to a showdown, it could pit the Russians against the Chinese for influence among the African nations. A compromise is expected.

The Secretary-General has vaguely defined political powers under the UN Charter. The Soviet Union has long tried to keep their actual scope as narrow as possible and subject to the veto.

It therefore opposes an Argentine draft resolution that would invite the Secretary-General, acting on behalf of the United Nations, to initiate contacts with all parties concerned to enable the people of Namibia to achieve self-determination and independence. That would include contacts with South Africa, which governs Namibia under a League of Nations Mandate and denies UN competence to intervene.

The Russians are said to want a committee of the Security Council, or possibly its president, to act on behalf of the United Nations rather than the Secretary-General. They have therefore opposed the summoning of a meeting until there is agreement on a revision of the Argentine draft.

There is additional impetus for a meeting because it would be the first attended by the Peking delegation. The Chinese are reported to have voiced no objection to a meeting on the basis of the Argentine draft. The United States is also willing to meet on that basis.

African diplomats said they were attempting to work out a compromise under which the Secretary-General and a council committee would act jointly on behalf of the United Nations.

Pretoria prefers to talk about self-determination for separate peoples, however, and the United Nations have called for self-determination for Namibia as a whole.

South Africa has not committed itself to talk to a Security Council delegation. Its willingness would undoubtedly be affected by who is in the delegation. — Washington Post.

Major Czech writers shun hard line union

From OSGOOD CARRUTHERS: Vienna, November 21

After months of fruitless efforts to get Prague's better-known writers to adopt the Moscow line of the regime, the Czech Ministry of Culture has finally pushed through the formation of a new writers' union — without them.

The official news agency in Prague announced the formation of the new union for the Czech, or Bohemian, part of the Czechoslovak federation, to replace the organisation disbanded last January because most of its members continued to hold to the reformist ideas of the "Prague spring" of 1968.

The present Czech Minister of Culture, Milo Brzdek, an orthodox, hard-line Communist, has been trying desperately to hammer together a new union that would have some literary respectability while adhering strictly to the new Moscow-inspired policy of "Socialist realism." None of the more

prominent writers would take part in the formation of the new union in spite of heavy pressures, threats, and even the boycott of their works, by the regime.

The Culture Minister finally persuaded an ageing Communist poet, Josef Kainar, to take the chairmanship of a preparatory committee that has been holding closed and reportedly stormy meetings off and on since May in Dobris Castle, a handsome retreat set aside for the writers. Kainar died last Tuesday, only four days before his efforts came to completion.

The announcement of the formation of the new union mentioned that 96 members had been admitted, but gave no indication of its total size or of who would head it after Kainar's death. But a statement issued by the new union pointed clearly to the fact that

Priests in Mao tunics

THE CHINESE Catholic Church, known since 1951 as the "Patriotic Catholic Association," does not acknowledge papal supremacy, and chooses its own bishops, according to a report by the Peking correspondent of the Italian agency Ansa.

The report says the church claims two million members, has freedom of worship. Priests wear Mao-style tunics with clerical collars, but there has been no ordination since 1963.

Relations with the Communist Party are good.

The report described a mass in Peking Cathedral, attended by an Italian MP and the Italian chargé d'affaires. After the mass, celebrated in Latin a priest told the Italians: "Even if the Communist Party does not believe in God that does not cause any break between us and the Communists." — Reuters.

Station bomb hurts 14

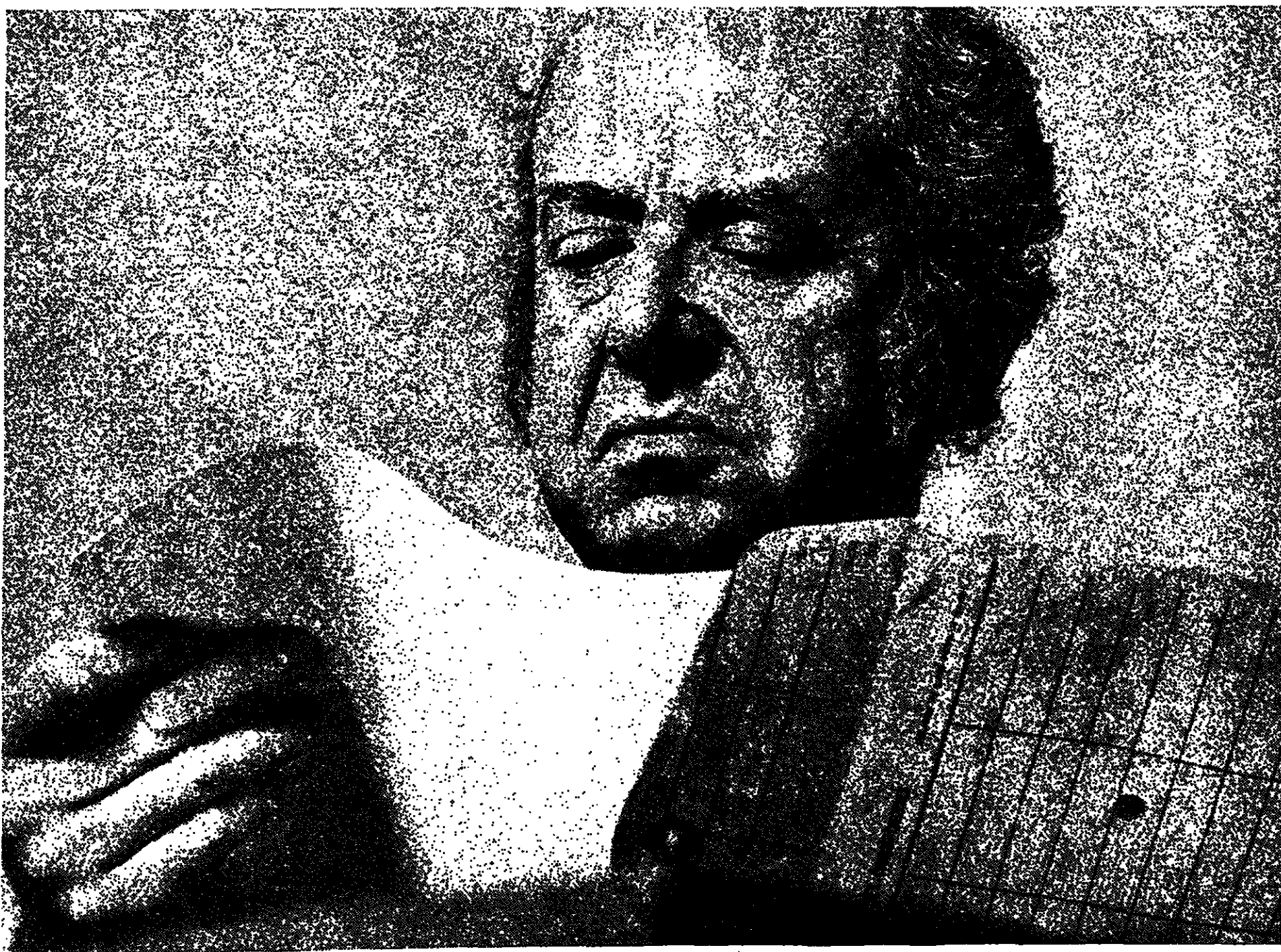
Zurich, November 21

A disgruntled unemployed labourer took a hold-all containing a home-made bomb into the main railway station here late on Saturday night, put it into a luggage locker, lit the fuse, locked the door, and walked off.

Smoke poured out of the locker for several minutes, then the charge — 17½ lb. of high explosive — went off, injuring 14 people and causing damage valued at about 100,000 Swiss francs (£104,000). Police said today that those hurt, who included four women, suffered only minor cuts and shock.

Twenty-five minutes after the blast, a 47-year-old bachelor, of no fixed address, walked into a police station and confessed to planting the bomb. A police spokesman said the man had had repeated brushes with officialdom since 1960, and clearly acted "out of hatred towards police and local authorities." — UPI and Reuters.

Your copier is only as good as the paper it prints on.



The first slithery touch is enough. It tells you that you're the unlucky recipient of copies on coated paper. They're often smudged and smelly. They often curl and fade. And they're difficult to file.

Which is why we designed Rank Xerox copier-duplicators to use plain paper.

Plain paper costs less and is easier to store.

You can write on the copies, erase your notes, copy on the back.

You can even send them to your touchiest customer.

And plain paper means you can use headed paper of almost any colour.

So when you're comparing copiers, start with the paper.

Your choice is plain.

RANK XEROX

Rank Xerox and Xerox are registered trademarks of Rank Xerox Limited

Belfast: Kavee Industrial Estate, Upper Dumurry Lane, Downpatrick, Belfast. Tel. 0232 56511
Birmingham: Hagley House, Hagley Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 16. Tel. 021-454 7031
Bristol: Netherfield House, Marsh Street, Bristol. Tel. 0272 29340/5
Cardiff: St David's House, 18 Wood Street, Cardiff CF1 1ER. Tel. 0222 27143
Croydon: Green Dragon, House 134 Rantree Street, Croydon CR9 1UP. Tel. 01-686 2981/5
Dublin: 2 Dawson Street, Dublin 2. Tel. 770701
Glasgow: Fleming House, 134 Rantree Street, Glasgow G3. Tel. 041-332 0341/4
Leeds: Merivale House, 29 East Parade, Leeds LS1 5SY. Tel. 0532 40841
Leicester: 215 Charles Street, Leicester. Tel. 0533 29132
Liverpool: 5th Floor, Foster House, Canning Place, Liverpool L1 8HW. Tel. 051-709 9944
London: Rank Xerox House, 338 Euston Road, London NW1 3BH. Tel. 01-367 1244
Luton: Crystal House, Crawley Road, Luton LU1 1HS. Tel. 0582 29868.9
Manchester: 5th Floor, Bank House, Chorlton, Salford Manchester M4 4ET. Tel. 061-228 2211
Newcastle: 5th Floor, Tyne Bridge Tower, Church Square, Gateshead NE8 2DU. Tel. 0632 703114

Amin opens Uganda border

From DAVID MARTIN:
Dar-es-Salaam, November 21

Uganda's President Amin today took a small but possibly significant step towards solving the problems of the East African Community by formally reopening his border with Tanzania and allowing the immediate resumption of direct air, lake, steamer, and telephone links between the two countries.

But formidable problems remain for he has still not signed the Community's Appropriations Bill and Tanzania's President Nyerere has still to sanction a series of Ugandan nominations for Community posts.

Speaking at Mutukula, the border village which has been the scene of sporadic fighting between the two countries since August, General Amin admitted today that he had only met four of the five conditions which President Nyerere had laid down for normalisation of relations in the Community.

General Amin said he would not meet the fifth which is signing the Appropriations Bill providing the Budget for Community departments, until President Nyerere took concrete action for normalisation of relations between the two countries. This could mean that the General is telling Dr Nyerere that he must endorse Uganda's nominations before the General will sign the Bill.

If it means that the General is demanding Tanzanian recognition of his regime, he will have erected a new major obstacle in the Community's way because President Nyerere has made it clear he is not prepared to recognise Amin's coup. However, an official at General Amin's home in Kampala said in a telephone interview tonight that this was not the General's meaning.

In a ceremony at Mutukula, President Amin cut a ribbon stretched across the main and an off street. He was accompanied by three Ministers from Kenya, the third of the partner States in the Community.

After a report last week that an agreement aimed at resolving the Community problem, had fallen through, Kenya's President Kenyatta intervened personally. President Amin said he had agreed to open the border was the direct result of talks he had had with President Kenyatta in Nairobi on Friday.

He said President Kenyatta had spelled out Dr Nyerere's conditions at that meeting. He has agreed to four of them because of the "high respect" he had for President Kenyatta.

Clearly, Mr Kenyatta has been able to shift General Amin from his previous stance but the Kenyan leader's role is not over yet. The solution may lie in getting the Ugandan and Tanzanian Presidents to sign the Bill and the nominations simultaneously. In this way neither need lose face.

24 killed in road collapse

At least 24 people were crushed to death in the partial collapse of a motorway overpass in Rio de Janeiro. Police fear the final count might be 40 and at least 40 people were injured.

The 50-yard central span of the motorway buckled and partly broke up as it crashed on the street and vehicles below.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

Announcements, authenticated by the name and permanent address of the sender, may be telephoned to the Guardian at 21 John Street, London W1P 3AA (Tel. 01-535 7011), or 354 Deodar Road, Putney, London SW15 2NU (Tel. 01-873 9191). Your copy of the Guardian will be sent to you free of charge. The day before publication. Your copy should reach us by 5.30 p.m. the day before publication.

BIRTHS

DROZOWSKI.—On November 19, 1971, at Altrincham Maternity Hospital, a daughter, (Maria) DROZOWSKI. Many thanks to hospital staff.—Drozdowski.

HOWELL.—On November 16, 1971, at Queen Charlotte's Hospital, London W6, a son, (GAVIN) HOWELL. Many thanks to hospital staff.—Mrs. J. Howell, 12, The Grange, Weybridge, Surrey.

FERGUSON.—On November 19, 1971, at Altrincham Maternity Hospital, a daughter, (Mrs. J. FERGUSON, 12, The Grange, Weybridge, Surrey).

FULLER.—On November 19, 1971, at Altrincham Maternity Hospital, a daughter, (Mrs. J. FULLER, 12, The Grange, Weybridge, Surrey).

DEATHS

CRAGG.—On November 19, 1971, at hospital, a daughter, (Mrs. J. CRAGG, 12, The Grange, Weybridge, Surrey).

FRANKS.—On November 19, 1971, at hospital, a daughter, (Mrs. J. FRANKS, 12, The Grange, Weybridge, Surrey).

HAIR.—On November 19, 1971, at hospital, a daughter, (Mrs. J. HAIR, 12, The Grange, Weybridge, Surrey).

German Socialists seeking reform, not revolution

From NORMAN CROSSLAND: Bonn, November 21

Eppler, Minister responsible for development aid, were largely accepted. These favour an increase in taxation of higher and middle income groups, and lower taxes for the poorer paid.

The Government, while supporting this principle, would not go as far as the Eppler Commission, not least because the views of the coalition partner, the Free Democratic Party, have to be taken into account. The FDP has less desire to soak the rich.

In one important respect a majority of delegates outside the Eppler Commission. They voted to increase the top rate of income tax — now 53 per cent — to 60 per cent, while the Commission proposed a rate of 58 per cent.

This caused Professor Schiller to remark to his

German Socialists seeking reform, not revolution

From NORMAN CROSSLAND: Bonn, November 21

Cabinet colleagues: "Obviously these people are trying to set up a quite different sort of Republic from the one we have." But the conference accepted the Government's proposals on corporation tax, which is to be increased to 56 per cent.

The conference decisions on tax reform will have little or no effect on Government policy. The Government has enough on its hands to bring its own proposals through Parliament before the next election, and there are doubts whether this will be possible. In any case the power of the economics overlord is supreme, and Professor Schiller is not likely to be moved unduly either by the commission or by tax

experts from the constituency associations. The proposals to reform the abortion law, on the other hand, stand a chance of becoming Government policy, although they would meet strong opposition in the Bundestag. Herr Jahn rejected the idea that abortion should be legal during the first three months of pregnancy, and suggested that there should be three main grounds for abortion — ill health or poor social circumstances of the mother, when the pregnancy has been brought about as the result of rape, and when there was a strong likelihood that the child would be abnormal.

For eight hours the conference discussed the freedom of the press. It accepted proposals to impose closer control on mergers in the publishing industry.

Conference decisions, even if they do not become the policy of this Government, are important in so far as they affect the party's public image. Many proposals may find their way into the programme for the 1973 election. The SPD has proved that it does not lack the will to reform.

Summing up Herr Brandt said there had been general agreement that a higher tax revenue and more social justice were necessary. He said the country's economic power. The US sources acknowledge there is something less than complete agreement about the prospects for the Brosio mission.

On May 14, during the debate on the Mansfield amendment to cut US forces by 150,000, the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Mr Brezhnev, challenged the West to cease asking questions and start negotiating on mutual reduction of troops and armaments.

The "curious people" who keep asking what kind of forces are to be reduced, Mr Brezhnev said, "resemble a person who tries to judge the flavour of wine by its appearance without drinking it." Instead of circling round the bottle, Mr Brezhnev said, in effect open it and drink.

The combination of Mr Brezhnev and the American elder statesman engulfed the Mansfield forces. The amendment was defeated by 61 votes to 36. It must have been a surprise to Mr Brezhnev to find himself in such company, with his words used to help to defeat legislation for a unilateral reduction in US forces.

Perhaps it is not surprising, therefore, that the Soviet Union has not leaped to welcome the West's next cautious move towards negotiations on mutual troop cuts. This is the plan to start a series of talks on a barrier on behalf of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

The suggested envoy is the former NATO Secretary-General, Signor Brosio. For weeks Signor Brosio has been cooling his heels, awaiting the Soviet Union's response.

Mr Brosio's readiness to receive him, in time to report back to the NATO conference of Foreign Ministers in Brussels on December 8.

The Secretary of State, Mr Rogers, to help to head the latest Mansfield amendment calling for a scaled-down reduction of 60,000 US troops in Europe by June 15, has expressed "hope" that the Brosio mission will come off in time.

A State Department spokesman has said the "hope" is "confidence." The Soviet Ambassador, Mr Dobrynin, met Mr Rogers on Wednesday. But US sources acknowledge there is something less than complete agreement about the prospects for the Brosio mission.

The Soviet diplomats have indicated that Moscow moves to negotiate the less clear. The answer might be in whatever form is the most transparent and divides for the West, unless the Soviet Union is prepared to extend accommodation surprisingly far. For the Western Powers are in disarray on this politically sensitive subject. It is not clear whether they are more concerned by the sudden moves in monetary, trade, and diplomatic relations.

Senator Mansfield sees "mutual" force reductions as far down the line, or remote. He argues that "a unilateral initiative... may even act as a spur to mutual agreement rather than a barrier to it."

The Administration profoundly disagrees. It insists that the reverse will happen. So far in this round, the Soviet Union has yet to be heard. — Washington Post.

Thadden steps down

From NORMAN CROSSLAND: Bonn, November 21

Herr Adolf von Thadden, who has resigned as chairman of the extreme Right-wing National Democratic Party, is to remain a member and says he will offer his services again should party order and discipline be restored.

He announced his resignation at the NPD's conference in Holzminden, an event which most people appear to have ignored. Just as voters ignore NPD candidates at the polls, it seems hard to imagine that only a few years ago the National Democratic Party was attracting world attention, and creating the spectre of a revival of Nazism.

Since then the NPD has been swept out of successive Länder Parliaments, and is represented now only in the Parliament of Baden-Württemberg. From which it is likely to disappear at the next election. The only personality of note in the leadership, will hasten the party's disintegration.

He told the conference he was resigning because of deep differences with a small group on the executive committee, principally with the chairman of the Bavarian association, Dr Pöhlmann, and the chairman of the North Rhine-Westphalian branch, Herr Valendy. The intrigues among the leadership, he said, had made it impossible to carry through his policy of purging the party of eccentrics.

Since the NPD's rapid slide into insignificance began at the last federal election in 1969, militant extremists have got the upper hand. One of their groups is known as "Resistance" which violently opposes the Ostpolitik, and stages rowdy demonstrations.

The party's fortunes were highest at the time of the big coalition, when there was little parliamentary opposition. Many of its former supporters evidently feel now that their views are adequately represented by the present Opposition.

Fewer people are migrating to Australia and the number leaving the country has risen according to figures released in Canberra by the bureau of census and statistics.

In the three months to September, 24,932 migrants arrived in Australia. This was a slight increase on the comparable period last year. The number leaving was 7,201, an increase of 574.

Protest kills M-way project

From MALCOLM DEAN: New York, November 21

In a remarkable victory, an anti-motorway group learned this weekend that they had been successful in stopping the construction of any part of the projected Hudson River Expressway.

The original plan involved a 47-mile route beginning north of the centre of New York city, and heading upstate to Beacon, but after protracted protests it was cut back to a 10-mile stretch on the east side of the river, between Croton and Tarrytown.

This, too, was stopped by a permanent injunction by the lower courts. But even after the Supreme Court had refused to interfere with this injunction, it appeared as though the fight had not been won, because Governor Rockefeller released five alternative routes to keep the project alive. This weekend, however, at a meeting of environmentalists, the Governor conceded that the expressway was a "dead issue."

The fight had lasted six years and has involved studies costing millions of dollars. The plan was opposed both by environmentalists, who said it would ruin the natural beauty of the Hudson River, and by home owners. The alternative routes would have demolished up to 450 residential and commercial buildings.

In a country where the road lobby is one of the most powerful pressure groups, it is a remarkable turn of the tables. Governor Rockefeller conceded that the opposition to the motorway suggested that "people's priorities are changing." He added: "In the midst of this turmoil, it would be tragic, however, if Government which, quite literally, is the creature of the people — is cast into the role of their enemy."

Flu kills 86

An influenza epidemic has killed 86 people in Budapest, most of them old over the age of 60 and a half weeks.

The Hungarian news agency MTI reported. It said that about half a million Hungarians were reported to be ill with flu this weekend.



Cardinal Mindszenty, the Hungarian Primate in exile, saying High Mass yesterday at St Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna — his first service there since Christmas, 1948

Congress fails to resolve Gaullist doubts

From RICHARD SCOTT: Strasbourg, November 21

It is four years since the Gaullists (Union de Démocrates Français) have met in political conclave and just one year since their great inspirer and founder died.

During the past three days they have been holding what can only be called a party congress, although they insist that they are a "movement" and not a party.

Their purpose has been to emphasise the achievements of the past and to promote the UDR's prospects for the future. National elections are not due until the spring of 1973, but there has been a flurry of speculation this past week that President Pompidou may decide to dissolve Parliament earlier than that, particularly if the international financial and internal economic situation continue to deteriorate.

Both the President and the Prime Minister have, however, been discounting any such prospects.

In any case it is unlikely that the UDR will hold another congress before the next election, so this weekend it has been setting its house in order and preparing to present a strong and united front to the electorate.

In spite of internal differences on the eve of the congress, the movement has in fact displayed considerable cohesion these past three days, with a huge satisfaction in past performance, and confidence that it will continue to take the major part in the government of France.

Indeed, as several speakers pointed out, the movement has much to congratulate itself about since De Gaulle retrieved the country from the brink of chaos and civil war 13 years ago. Above all, France has enjoyed a stable administration. In the 12 years up to 1958 there had been 22 different Governments, a fact which the Gaullists attribute to the proliferation of political parties.

They are determined to prevent this from occurring again. That was the reason that President Pompidou, when M. Chaban-Delmas, the Prime Minister, gave this week for opposing the nomination of a president to the UDR (the current and fifth time General de Gaulle formed the Rassemblement du Peuple Français in this city nearly 25 years ago). They have been insisting that the UDR should remain a loose political movement, appealing to all sections of the country, and must not become a conventionally structured party: otherwise the country would quickly revert to the chaos of interecine party politics.

Although the firm opposition of M. Pompidou and M. Chaban-Delmas, and of the UDR's Secretary-General, M. Tomasi (who was re-elected yesterday), certainly muted the demand of the militants that the UDR should have a president and be structured like other political parties, it did not kill it. A group led by M. Sanguinetti, the UDR deputy from Toulouse, asked that the matter should be discussed further at another UDR congress in the spring.

The UDR leaders seem to be faced indeed with a predicament. A return to the politics of the parties is anathema to them. But they need some new element to bind their movement together now that General de Gaulle is no longer alive. The growing personality of M. Pompidou is no substitute. But what steps can be taken which do not tend to convert the movement into a party?

At the closing speech here this afternoon the Prime Minister neither admitted the predicament nor indicated how it was to be circumvented. At a press conference last night he had again opposed the election of a UDR president and insisted that as Prime Minister, he himself was "the animator of the UDR and head of the majority."

owned by IRI, the state holding company, has accounts totalling 550 millions a year, but less than 10 per cent of that goes to the press — the lion's share going to buy advertising on radio and television, which happen also to be owned by IRI. Those newspapers which do benefit from Sipra's generosity are usually those within the Centre-Left governmental orbit.

Even though the Italian newspapers may be operating in the red this year, the major papers are not in any immediate danger because their owners are not primarily interested in profits and, in some cases, never were.

Italians buy fewer newspapers (12 for every 100 people) and more illustrated weeklies (32 for every 100 people) than people in the other Common Market countries. One reason for this, which every editor accepts, is that the newspapers are written for the

political reporting can only be understood by politicians, and Church news is comprehensible only to the clergy. Even the ample sports pages must not be what the public wants, because there are four national sports dailies. Further,

the other, Sipra, which is

Nixon again looks to a strange ally

From MURRAY MARDER: Washington, November 21

The Nixon Administration, for the second time in six months, is looking to the Kremlin to help to relieve demands in the Senate to cut United States forces in Europe unilaterally.

To defeat the drive last May by the Democratic leader Senator Mansfield for a more sweeping cut in troop levels, the Administration summoned most of the diplomatic veterans of the cold war. Supporters of the Administration's stand included two former Presidents, Mr Johnson and Mr Truman, two former Secretaries of State, Mr Rusk and Mr Acheson, and two dozen other former high officials — mostly Democrats.

But perhaps the strongest boost for the Administration was a windfall from the least expected source — the Soviet Union, to support the White House plea against one-sided reductions.

On May 14, during the debate on the Mansfield amendment to cut US forces by 150,000, the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Mr Brezhnev, challenged the West to cease asking questions and start negotiating on mutual reduction of troops and armaments.

The "curious people" who keep asking what kind of forces are to be reduced, Mr Brezhnev said, "resemble a person who tries to judge the flavour of wine by its appearance without drinking it." Instead of circling round the bottle, Mr Brezhnev said, in effect open it and drink.

The combination of Mr Brezhnev and the American elder statesman engulfed the Mansfield forces. The amendment was defeated by 61 votes to 36. It must have been a surprise to Mr Brezhnev to find himself in such company, with his words used to help to defeat legislation for a unilateral reduction in US forces.

Perhaps it is not surprising, therefore, that the Soviet Union has not leaped to welcome the West's next cautious move towards negotiations on mutual troop cuts. This is the plan to start a series of talks on a barrier on behalf of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

The suggested envoy is the former NATO Secretary-General, Signor Brosio. For weeks Signor Brosio has been cooling his heels, awaiting the Soviet Union's response.

Mr Brosio's readiness to receive him, in time to report back to the NATO conference of Foreign Ministers in Brussels on December 8.

The Secretary of State, Mr Rogers, to help to head the latest Mansfield amendment calling for a scaled-down reduction of 60,000 US troops in Europe by June 15, has expressed "hope" that the Brosio mission will come off in time.

A State Department spokesman has said the "hope" is "confidence." The Soviet Ambassador, Mr Dobrynin, met Mr Rogers on Wednesday. But US sources acknowledge there is something less than complete agreement about the prospects for the Brosio mission.

The Soviet diplomats have indicated that Moscow moves to negotiate the less clear. The answer might be in whatever form is the most transparent and divides for the West, unless the Soviet Union is prepared to extend accommodation surprisingly far. For the Western Powers are in disarray on this politically sensitive subject. It is not clear whether they are more concerned by the sudden moves in monetary, trade, and diplomatic relations.

Senator Mansfield sees "mutual" force reductions as far down the line, or remote. He argues that "a unilateral initiative... may even act as a spur to mutual agreement rather than a barrier to it."

The Administration profoundly disagrees. It insists that the reverse will happen. So far in this round, the Soviet Union has yet to be heard. — Washington Post.

Taiwan Caravelle goes missing

Taipei, November 21

China Airlines said tonight the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

The plane had a crew of eight and 18 passengers, including the Caravelle disappeared 20 minutes after taking off from Taipei for Hongkong last night. The other passengers were eight Chinese, three Japanese, three Persians, Singaporean, and a South Vietnamese.

Mr Frederick Wong, assistant general manager of the Taiwanese airline, said the search would continue. He could not confirm reports that the aircraft had been seen to explode and crash into the sea failed to find any trace of the Caravelle airliner which is missing with 26 people aboard.

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

Woman among pioneers

[illegible]

OBITUARY

as Manchester, has died in a Victoria Hospital, Blackpool. He was 66. Mr Clarkson first came to London in 1928 to work for the "News Chronicle" and was one of the paper's stereo-

Children are in greater danger than ever of being strangled by guard dogs, Mr. Jørgen Philip-Sørensen, head of one of Britain's big security firms, Group 4 Total Security, claimed yesterday.

The near death of a boy of 14 earlier this year had made the situation worse rather than

Employers say that the old agreement, which gave workers an increase based on the earnings of skilled production men, was inflationary. They want to replace it with individual plant bargaining. The director of the Coventry Engineering Employers' Association, Mr Alan Berry, said yesterday: "Today's strike is tomorrow's redundancy or closure. We are not out to do the toolroom workers down. We want to see how it is done bargaining, which already operates in other engineering works elsewhere in the country outside Coventry."

He said it had been a deliberate policy of successive Governments to sell coal cheaply to British industrialists to enable them to keep their unit costs down and so compete more easily with foreign industry. The men were not prepared to tolerate a continuation of that situation.

By our Political Correspondent

The Cabinet will meet this morning and tomorrow to make its final arrangements for the censure debate on unemployment which Labour is to open in the Commons tomorrow.

This will be the most critical debate Ministers have faced, not only in this session but since

By our own Reporter

The South-West Midlands Housing Association is to spend £30,000 on a student housing scheme at Chichester. The association is co-operating with the Gloucestershire County Council, the education committee, and the students' union of the Gloucestershire College of Art and Design, in the development at Edmonstone House.

The complex will include five flats to be managed by the students, a lecture theatre and lounge where elderly people will also have access.

His remedy was steadier prices, moderate wage settlements, and higher production as offering the only genuine prospect of more jobs. He claimed that, since the Conservatives took office, the rise in prices had been reduced, wage settlements, though still very high, were lower than they had been, and that in the past 18 months there had been "a gradual change to expansion, which will now accelerate."

Mr Jenkins and Mrs Castle will be Labour's principal speakers in the censure debate, and Mr Barber, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr Carr, the Secretary for Employment, will reply for the Government. There will be no Labour abstentions from the vote at the end of this debate.

● **Workers who lose their jobs after booking a holiday on the Norfolk Broads will get their deposits back under a scheme being introduced by Hoseason's, the boat letting agency. A cancellation insurance is being introduced to cover redundancy.**

By our own Reporter

A message from the Archbishop of Liverpool, the late Rev. George Beck, concerning the "evil of unemployment," was read at all Roman Catholic churches in the city yesterday. In it the Archbishop said this was a time of crisis when the unacceptable should become the accepted thing. Unemployment meant loss of dignity and purpose, a disruption of the home and family life, and a sense of not being wanted or needed.

When a man was unemployed or made redundant, nobody had a desire that he is to be creative no longer. In that sense he became less than man.

"A man should know that he

By our own Reporter

is needed and is important. The vast majority of people have a self-respect and want to work as human beings," he said.

Social Security helped people overcome temporary difficulties, but did not provide respect, confidence, and dignity. People should be able to offer practical solutions to individual problems, rather than trying to help them to find new opportunities. In some areas church buildings could be opened for the use of the unemployed.

teously, and disagreement. It is easy to say that too many people are greedy," he said.

But finding excuses would not solve the problem. People would also aim to improve their quality of life but only at the expense of living. No Christian should stand aside while fellow human lose not only their material status but even worse, their dignity, their morale, and their respect.

The letter was read at a time when Merseyside had 47,782 unemployed, which is 7.2 per cent of the nearly twice the national average. It came three weeks after clergy and several thousand unemployed marched through Liverpool in protest against unemployment.

By **DAVID FAIRHALL**
Air Correspondent

In 1968, a complete electrical failure, followed by the loss of key flying instruments, caused a British Eagle Viscount to crash on a Bavarian autobahn. In the recent incident, some power was regained and the four-engine turbo-propeller aircraft landed safely on Jersey. BALPA received no report from the BEA pilot at the time, but is now concerned to confirm that all necessary modifications have been carried out to prevent similar failures. It will also

BEA has still not completed its own investigation but some of the basic facts are clear. The aircraft took off from Guernsey with one of its four engine-driven generators not working. There was nothing alarming about that, but later, while attempting to re-align the power system, the crew managed to short-circuit the control fuses on three generators. The fourth then became overloaded and tripped out of its own accord. This left the aircraft dependent on its emergency battery to power vital instruments—particularly the artificial horizon—without which it cannot be flown.

The battery should have been able to cope for a while. But according to unconfirmed reports of a BEA spokesman, the report has prompted BALPA's anxiety, it appears already to have been largely run down either before or during the flight. Clearly, the BEA was concerned about the cockpit procedure laid down for such a situation. In the Bavarian crash, the fact that the crew were not alerted by the engine warning lights were losing electrical power was a contributory cause. Something of the same thing may have happened in the recent incident.

In fact, the BEA crew managed to get the fourth generator working again, but without it they might have been in an extremely difficult position.

A wife expecting her first baby while the husband is in prison can expect no financial help from the State because she is not considered to have a dependant, says a report published yesterday.

The report, by Circle Trust, which helps the wives and families of ex-prisoners, says that the expectant mothers should be able to claim for a dependant during pregnancy.

It says that the explanation that they cannot claim has "a cold heartlessness" when it has to be made to a girl just about to have her first baby.

One young wife attending a Circle Trust group did not have the money for all the basic necessities needed for her child, and her only hope was through charity. These expectant mothers also had trouble with housing. With no children they could not be classified as homeless. The report gave an example of one pregnant girl turned out of her lodgings who had to be helped by the Circle Trust.

Obstacle course

A car ran up a one-in-four embankment on the M1 at Lutterworth in Leicestershire yesterday, smashed through 17 feet of fencing, jumped 53 feet through the air, slid 100 feet across a field, and came to rest against a mound of earth. Neither driver nor passenger was seriously injured.

Black magic warning

He said: "This is a problem that the Church has not met for the past 200 years. But priests are now finding all over the country that they are having to cast

One priest in London had carried out 1,000 exorcisms in two years, and the Church of England had held a special conference at Coventry, which was attended by members of other denominations, to discuss the problem.

"People are turning away from material things like cars and refrigerators and becoming increasingly interested in religion," he said. "The

supernatural is gaining ascendancy. More and more people are dabbling in fortune telling, home seances, witchcraft, black magic, and things like the Age of Aquarius.

Mr Willis said that priests were normally called out to deal with occult disturbances and evil infestations by people who had dabbled in these matters and then become frightened.

Teamwork.
That's what you need in the police.

Individual responsibility and initiative are important parts of a policeman's work, and he wouldn't want it any other way. But team-work is just as important. Almost everything, from the public event to the co-ordination of a major criminal investigation, involves a high degree of co-operation and organisation within the police.

something about it, taking positive action to ensure the individual's rights within the community as a whole.

It isn't an easy job, and it carries plenty of knocks. But any policeman will tell you that the satisfaction is worth every moment.

We are living through a period of social change, sometimes disturbing and often violent. Crime becomes more organised; racial tension is never far from the surface; our traffic problem is a major concern. But being concerned is not enough for the policeman. He is doing

A policeman has qualities that are none too common, like tact, intelligence, patience and guts. In an organisation that becomes by necessity increasingly more complex, he needs all his brains, education and natural abilities – and he gets the chance to put them to good use. It's a good job for us that our police have got what it takes.

Making a career in the police.

If you would like to know more about a policeman's life and career prospects, or think it would interest anyone you know, write to: Police Careers Officer, Home Office (D), LONDON, S.W.1, for further information. For those under 19 there are opportunities to join as a cadet.

Britain's Police- doing a great job.



Engineers put in phones free for disabled

By KEITH HARPER

Post Office engineers throughout Wales have volunteered to work without pay to install telephones for the chronically sick and disabled. If the experiment is successful, it is likely to spread to other parts of Britain.

The scheme is the outcome of an agreement negotiated between the Post Office Engineering Union and the Wales and Marches Telecommunications Board. The Post Office has agreed to cut the charge for connection by 50 per cent, provided the work is in the normal range of connection charges.

This initiative in helping disabled people to maintain contact with friends was prompted by the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act passed last year.

One of its sections enables local authorities to provide telephones for disabled people, but the introduction of the Act, the response by local authorities has been extremely disappointing.

In an attempt to stimulate a greater response by local authorities, the union consulted with the Post Office. Together they examined ways in which action under the Act could be encouraged.

Their discussions resulted in an agreement that POEU members would install telephones after normal working hours, during the evenings, and on weekends. The Wales Board has agreed to make vehicles and materials available to the volunteer engineers. The maximum connection charge of £25 will be reduced to £12.50.

Lord Delacourt-Smith, general secretary of the POEU, congratulated the Welsh membership for "their noble public service gesture." He hoped that local councils would regard this initiative "as a means of doubling the number of telephones installed under the Act rather than reducing overall expenditure."

Mr Vic Feather, TUC general secretary, was delighted to hear of the move. "It fits remarkably into the spirit of the campaign we are now running to relieve the elderly and pensioners from loneliness and poverty."

Mr Duncan Guthrie, director of the Central Council for the Disabled, said it was just one of many steps taken by non-governmental groups to help local authorities to bring the required services directly and quickly to the disabled.

A warning was issued yesterday to housewives in Norfolk who find salesmen knocking on their doors offering goods for sale to help the disabled. It was: "Tell the caller to go to hell."

Mr Keith Goldsworthy, of the National Federation of St Raphael Clubs for the Physically Handicapped, said he was issuing 500 posters warning the public that no local disabled groups or clubs sell goods by door to door methods.

A real line on teacher training

By MARK ARNOLD-FORSTER

THE ESSENCE of the teacher's job is to communicate knowledge to a sea of faces, with a person behind each face: the "classroom coalface" is where it all begins. But does the British teacher-training system prepare teachers to build for themselves the very difficult human relationships that they will need before they can start imparting their knowledge?

The authors of a book published today think not. Their findings confirm that trained teachers do not on the whole believe that their training has been adequate to prepare them for the coalface — and the authors agree with the teachers.

Unlike the James Committee, which is looking into teacher training as a whole, the authors have consulted people as distinct from institutions. The James Committee has yet to report, but unless it is luckier than other committees its members will spend more time than will have been good for them talking to the leaders of organised opinion, and not enough talking to persons.

This book is a frank attempt to influence the committee and to tell it where to look. Most of the book's authors are journalists concerned with education — including the Guardian's Education Correspondent — and are trained to investigate if not to teach.

"The voice we need to heed is the voice of the classroom teacher," says Mr Bruce Kemble, the editor and organiser of the book "To Teach." Teachers are the first people we should turn to when we want to find the answer to the question 'Is the present training system producing the right sort of teachers?'

The authors' main conclusion is that, for one reason or another, the colleges of education have done too little to prepare their students for the coalface. The colleges have concentrated on the methodology of teaching at the expense of the sociology.

The most interesting recommendation is that, at the end of their second year, training students who want to teach should do a practical year in schools, a year in which their status would resemble that of medical students in a teaching hospital. But when the time comes, their status would be comparatively low. Students who had decided by the end of their second year that they did not want to teach after all would be able to study for an ordinary degree in a third academic year.

This, the authors suggest, would raise the teachers' complaint that their qualification does not qualify for any other job except teaching. A theologian who loses his faith on graduation day can always do something else. A teacher who loses his enthusiasm as the coalface gets nearer is stuck with a qualification which says that that is the only thing for which he has been trained even if, as this book suggests, he has not.

The contributors to the book include Richard Bourne and John Eard of the Guardian, Nicholas Bagnall, Ronald Deadman, Alex Evans, David Fletcher, Keith Gardner, Eric Midwinter, Maureen O'Connor, Gordon Pemberton, Michael Pollard, Michael Storm, Shirley Toulson, and Frances Verrinder.

"Fit to Teach," a private inquiry into the training of teachers, edited by Bruce Kemble, Hutchinson, 65p.



Mrs Eleanora Essens, whose dismembered body was found in a shallow grave on a golf course at Leatherhead, in Surrey, last September. Mrs Essens disappeared from her home in Mansfield seven years ago. It is believed that she may have worked in central London, possibly in Soho, for at least part of the time and until shortly before her death

'Barbaric' method of birth control

Mrs Renée Short, Labour MP for Wolverhampton North-east, yesterday criticised the withdrawal method of birth control, used by 34 per cent of couples interviewed in a recent survey, as "barbaric, unsatisfying, and unsafe," and said she hoped sterilisation of men would become available in National Health Service.

Mrs Short said that the survey showed there was still a lot of opposition to the Pill because of the publicity given to the minority of cases where blood clotting had occurred. "The withdrawal business is a barbaric method," she said. "It is not certain or safe, and leads to unwanted pregnancies."

It is very unsatisfying for the wife and unsatisfactory for the husband and it required concentration on doing something that all the instincts want you to forget to do. It is unnatural both for the man and the woman.

She said the report of the survey, published by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, underlined the need for more to be done under the National Health Service. Sterilisation of men was a very safe method, was a far less difficult and dangerous operation than sterilising women, and did not affect the man's ability to have intercourse.

Shropshire county council

Abortion 'normal as a hairdo'

Women now talked about abortions as if they were having a shampoo and set to make them look better, Mr Joseph Jordan, a lecturer in obstetrics and gynaecology said at the University of Birmingham yesterday, at a meeting organised by the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child.

There should be a very good reason for termination of pregnancy, he said — not just the fact that the pregnancy is inconvenient, which is really why most abortions are carried out. Mr Jordan predicted a total of 120,000 recorded abortions — legal abortions — this year, compared with 100,000 live births.

"The British public is being taught to think of the foetus as a blob of jelly or a ball of cells. It is not. It is an unborn child, and there are a growing number of us determined to fight to defend it until we get the law changed."

Mr Jordan, who also practises as a gynaecologist in Birmingham added: "It is well known that I will carry out terminations for genuine medical indications, and that I run a family planning clinic. Like a number of others, therefore, some three years ago I was offered fees of about £12,500 a year for half a day's work a week."

"I do not imagine that I was taught to refuse, but I consider it an impudence when doctors like myself are attacked by the ilk of Mr David Steel MP or by the Birmingham Pregnancy Advisory Service, because we do not do enough abortions. They talk as though we were swatting flies, instead of destroying human lives, which is what abortion means."

"I believe that abortion is not, as was never meant to be, a method of contraception."

Grey leads protest

Mr Anthony Grey, the former Reuter correspondent who was held hostage in Peking for 26 months, led one of the delegations from Amnesty International which visited embassies in London at the weekend on behalf of nine prisoners of conscience.

Mr Grey, who joined Amnesty a year ago, went to the Paraguayan Embassy to deliver a plea for Julio Rojas who has been in prison for 12 years without being charged or tried.

Private out-patients row

Birmingham Regional Hospital Board will be asked on Wednesday to allow private out-patient treatment at nine hospitals in its area.

Private work at two of the centres, Good Hope Hospital, Sutton Coldfield, and the Bromsgrove General Hospital, was stopped earlier this year because "formal consent" had not been given. The applications — which are recommended for

acceptance by the planning committee — follow the refusal by Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary for Social Services, to establish an independent inquiry into the amount of private work being carried on at the board's hospitals.

A Birmingham councillor, Miss Sheila Wright, a member of the board, gave warning yesterday that she will oppose the applications. She will be sup-

ported by Mr Leslie Huckfield, Labour MP for Nuneaton, who is pressing the Minister for an inquiry.

Councillor Mrs Theresa Stewart, former member of the board who lost her place after a campaign against pay beds, said the applications were "an attempt to legalise a situation where private out-patient work has been carried on without authority."

We can make any bedroom bigger.

Unless you live in a castle, you could probably do with a bigger bedroom.

One that looks less like a furniture depository.

And feels less like the Underground in the rush hour.

Our fitted units will make this transformation for you.

Beautifully. Space-Fitta wardrobes reach from floor to ceiling. Run along walls and round corners. Slip into alcoves. (And they can be fitted under sloping roofs.)

Our dressing tables and drawer units link together naturally, slide between wardrobes and tuck under windows.

While inside our wardrobes, go shelves and drawer units that turn your bedroom into the tidiest room in the house.

Elastic Space-Fitta can even make box

rooms capacious. Or change ungainly barn-like rooms into something neat and lovely.

You can have it with hinged or sliding doors.

You can choose from gorgeous finishes. (New light oak. White lacquer. White reproduction. Teak. Or tola.)

And you get the kind of value that comes from over seventy years of furniture making.

If you'd like to see all this in beautiful colour, send off the

coupon for our free brochure.

Please send me your Space-Fitta brochure	
Name	_____
Address	_____
LimeLight Furniture Ltd. (Dept. 4) Stadium Works, North End Road, Wembley HA9 0NQ	

Mystery planner named

The identity of the author of plan out today to build a city or a million people near Nunaton was disclosed yesterday.

Mr Hubert de Cronin Hastings, winner of this year's Royal Institute of British Architects old medal, the premier architectural prize in Britain.

The project, deliberately set among collared slag heaps and water-filled quarries, to transform and maximise the use of existing land, appears under the pseudonym Ivor de Wolfe.

A spokesman for Mr Hastings, chairman of the Architectural Press, publishers of the *Urban Civilian*, the end of suburban Man, said: "I think is a sort of joke. He always has assumed names, but this is the first time he has used 'Ivor de Wolfe'."

He said Mr Hastings was a man of retiring disposition and did not give interviews. His yard was for "drawing attention to many of the most crucial and controversial issues that concerned the architectural profession in this country."

Mr Hastings' project would copy an area of four miles square at Banthill, near Nuneaton. High density housing would be built on the side of huge heap of colliery waste and the entire city would be contained.

Tree felling

Eleven Douglas fir trees, 70 are old and nearly 100 feet high, are to be felled this week at an estate in Cirencester, to make five upper masts and a wispit for the SS Great Britain at Bristol.

'No right' to Welsh in court

By our own Reporter

The Lord Chancellor has told the London branch of Plaid Cymru — the Welsh Nationalist Party — that no one present in court has the right to insist that others speak his language.

He was replying to a request for a statement on the use of the Welsh language in court.

The Lord Chancellor's statement says that under the Welsh Language Act, 1967, any party, witness, or other person can speak in Welsh during legal proceedings. Notice must be given if the proceedings are in any court other than a magistrates' court.

Practical difficulties should be taken into account, the statement continues, because, although every effort is made, it is not always possible to ensure that every judge in every case in Wales can speak Welsh.

Again, there are relatively few advocates able to speak Welsh fluently, and the materials to enable them to develop their arguments in that language, including textbooks, authority, and even legal terminology, are limited.

It is also very difficult to find shorthand writers able to record the proceedings in Welsh, and not all courts in Wales are wired for sound.

Engine trouble

The new £10 millions cruise liner, Cunard Adventurer, has developed propeller trouble on her maiden voyage.

The Dutch-built 14,155-ton liner, which left Southampton on Friday with 250 American passengers, bound for San Juan in the Caribbean, should have reached Lisbon yesterday afternoon. Cunard said she would not arrive until tonight.

Taxing lessons of VAT

GUARDIAN Business Services is to present a two-day seminar on value added tax to the National Liberal Club, London, on December 7 and 8.

The seminar will give delegates a thorough grounding in the principles of VAT as it is applied to the UK, and also comparison with the systems already established in France and Denmark.

These objectives are

GUARDIAN BUSINESS SERVICES

reflected by the speakers:

Jean-Claude Goldsmith, senior partner of a French firm of international lawyers; Clifford Joseph, who has made a special study of VAT; Svend Oppenheim, partner in a Copenhagen firm of international lawyers specialising

in company and taxation law; an executive from the National Cash Register Company's VAT specialist team; and a Customs and Excise official.

Full details may be obtained from the Registrar, but include application to Guardian Business Services Ltd, 21 John Street, London WC1 (phone: 01-337 7011 Extn 316) is advised.

RSPCA goes on attack

The RSPCA is to press the Home Secretary to introduce legislation which will give the country's thousands of breeding establishments at dog and other animal breed-

ing establishments are immune at present against criticism because there is no legal power of entry. Although the RSPCA knows of the existence of bad breeding establishments, it is unable to prosecute.

The chairman of the RSPCA, Mr John Hobhouse, said in London yesterday that the society's 216 inspectors had been asked to compile detailed reports of all known and suspected breeding establishments in their areas, as a first move in "our all-out war to seek the closure of these vile breeding places."

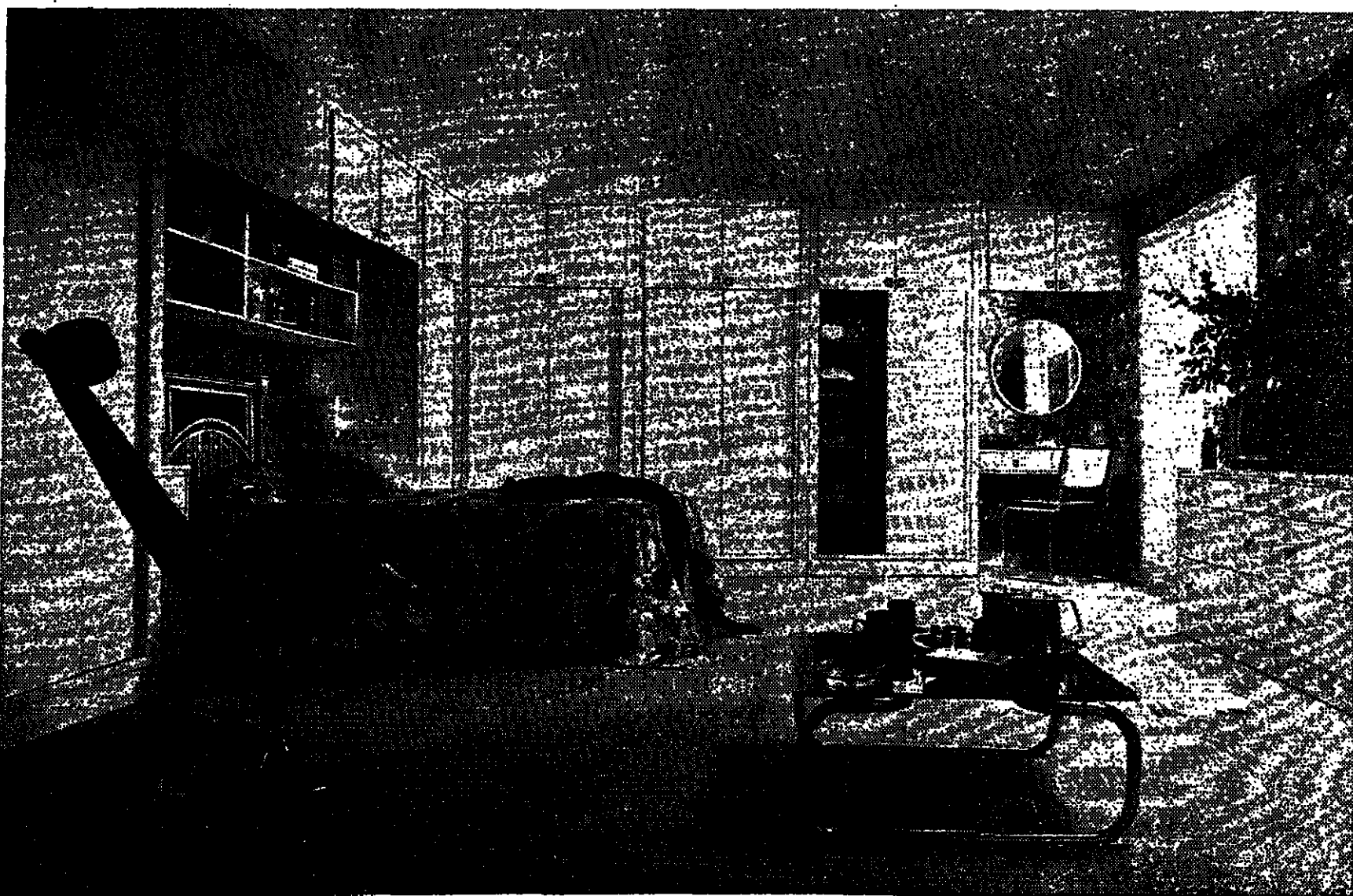
He said: "We seek an amendment of the present law which, while it permits the inspection of kennels, does not provide for the inspection of breeding establishments."

Inspector evidence will be given to the Home Secretary, and backed in the New Year by a film which, Mr Hobhouse said, disclosed a horrifying state of affairs.

"This film sequence shows how dogs are crammed together in packing cases with dozens of other animals lying dead on the floor and others still in a half-starved condition," Mr Hobhouse said. "The public have little idea just how bad things are. We managed, for instance, to get inside one establishment in the Bath area. Dogs were crammed together in batches of eight or nine in small containers which had been nailed up. Others were dead and the whole place was filthy."

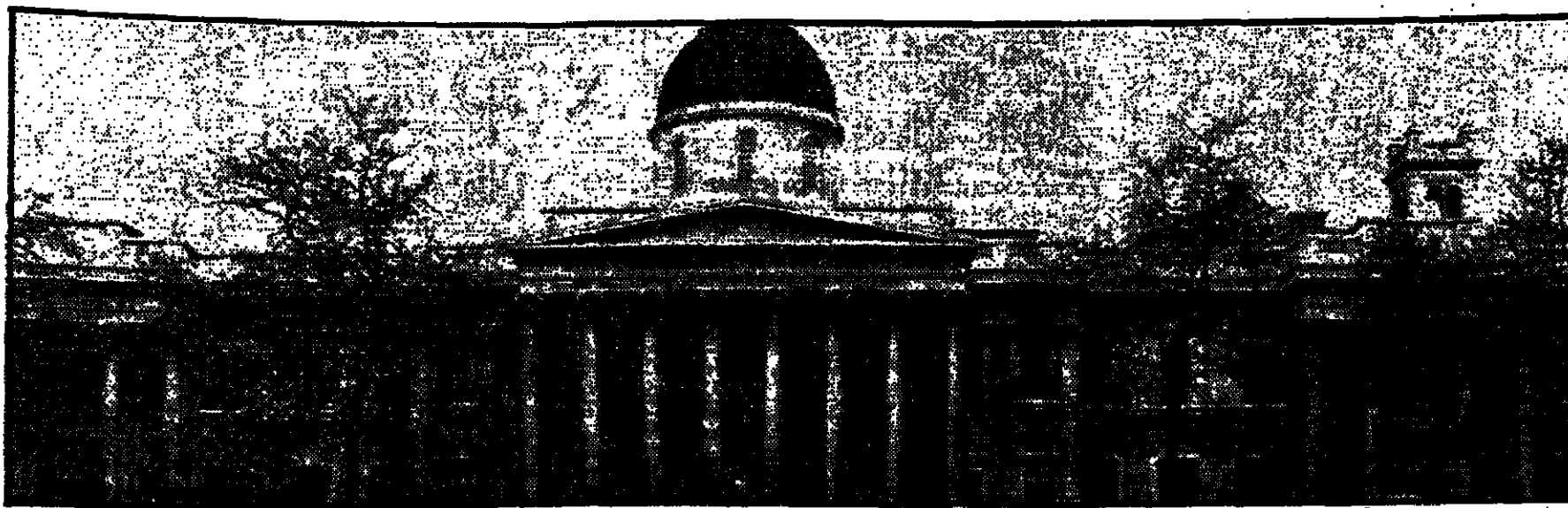
Mr Hobhouse said that many of the thousands of breeding establishments in the country were being run in such a "revolting and cruel manner."

The RSPCA would no longer rely on Private Members' Bills to get legislation through Parliament. "Instead we shall prepare our own evidence, back cases and go ahead ourselves."



SPACE-FITTA
BY LIMELIGHT

— can be recommended to anyone seeking a clear, concise and balanced summary of the causes — The Friend
M.R.G.'s REPORT ON THE WARS IN S. SUDAN & ERITREA
Price 25p (post free) from: The Minority Rights Group, 16 Green St., London, W.C.2.



Today the House of Lords starts to debate enabling legislation to force art galleries and museums to charge the public for admission. Here, Andrew Faulds, M.P., presents the evidence of a precedent for the National Gallery trustees to resist Lord Eccles.

BEFORE 1880 the National Gallery was closed on Thursdays and Fridays of every week, when "students" (the vast majority being copyists) were admitted by previous arrangement with the Keeper, naturally without paying any charge. In 1880 there was pressure in Parliament that the Gallery should be opened to the general public also on those days, but, since the number of copyists (with their easels and impedimenta) could at that date run into hundreds and the building was then hardly more than half the size of the present one, there were practical objections of a physical nature to allowing the public the same freedom of access which they enjoyed on other days of the week.

Accordingly, though a decision was made to open the Gallery on students' days to the general public, their numbers were limited to some extent by levying a charge of sixpence; this system survived until the outbreak of the Second World War, when the number of copyists requesting facilities had become few and far between. When the matter was reconsidered after the end of hostilities, it was wisely decided that, since the original reasons for the system had virtually disappeared, it had better not be revived.

It should be emphasised that the reason for this charge on the so-called "students" days was not the raising of funds from the public, but the one short-lived incident, the only one of its kind in the whole history of the National Gallery, when the raising of funds was in fact the declared object of charging the public for admission. Since this episode, which lasted for no more than three years (1921-4), constitutes the sole precedent for the present Government's scheme, it may be profitable to consider how the then Government and the then Trustees addressed themselves to the problem, and to the principles which are implicit in it. At that time the financial affairs of the Tate Gallery were under the jurisdiction of the National Gallery Board, and so the correspondence to which I wish to draw attention, and the inferences which arise from it, applied—and still apply—to the daughter institution.

The correspondence was opened by a letter of November 10, 1920, written by the Keeper of the National Gallery on behalf of the Board to the Treasury (the Department then responsible in Parliament). This pointed out that the annual purchase grant for both Galleries (amounting to the not very princely sum of £5,000!) was quite inadequate, and pressed for an increase. The Treasury's reply, dated December 18, absolutely declined to increase the grant, but stated that if further funds were to be made available for the purchase of pictures, they must be sought in other directions, such as "by an increase in the charge to the public on paying days or by an extension of the paying days to Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays."



'It is for the Trustees to consider'

The Treasury letter continued: "Any funds derived in this way would be appropriated in aid of the Vote but My Lords would be willing to increase the Purchase Grant in Aid by the amount of the sum so appropriated in any year. I am, however, to make it clear that My Lords cannot undertake the sole responsibility for the introduction of such a scheme; it is for the Trustees to consider carefully whether the necessity for increasing the funds available for purchases is so great as to outweigh the obvious objections to restricting the facilities which the public enjoy for free attendance at the National Collections. It would be necessary to maintain two free days, which might be Saturday and Sunday, and not to withdraw any existing privileges of bona fide art students and contributors to the National Art Collections Fund. Should the Trustees consider that on the whole the change is desirable, they should submit detailed proposals, including estimates, for the final decision of Their Lordships."

A reply to this was sent by the Director on January 12, 1921, stating that the Board was willing to accept the Treasury's suggestions with certain modifications "on the clear understanding that the addition to the number of paying days is to be regarded as a temporary measure to meet a period of exceptional financial stringency. On this condition, the Board would agree that the number of paying days should be increased from two to four."

As it turned out, however, the Treasury would only allow the proceeds from the extra two days to be devoted to the purchase funds, but the Trustees refrained from recouping some of this loss by taking up the Treasury's suggestion that if they imposed charges on a third additional day they could retain the proceeds. The Treasury's approval of what had been negotiated with the Board was given in a letter

Andrew Faulds on Sir John Witt, chairman of the National Gallery: "... lending support... to the unjustifiable smokescreen which the Government has so long persisted in maintaining?"



On Sir Julian Huxley: 'Sir Julian also gave his support to the principle of allowing free access at least one day a week...'



On Lord Eccles: '... gratuitously offensive (in) stating that since the trustees get all the money from the Government they always agree with the Government over the general picture.'



of February 7, 1921, in which the Lords Commissioners went on record as giving their assent to the allocation for the purchase of pictures "of any increased receipt derived from imposing entrance fees on such additional days (or increased rates of entrance) as the Trustees of the Galleries in question may in their discretion (subject to Their Lordships' consent) determine."

The scheme thus negotiated between the Board and the Treasury, having been inaugurated on April 1, 1921, was the subject of comment by the then Chairman of the National Art Collections Funds at its annual general meeting shortly afterwards. Though acknowledging the attractions of securing an addition in this way to the purchase grant, he observed that the charges given added value to the charges accorded to our members of free entrance, but, on the whole, I cannot think the step is one which is really in the best interest of art. Indeed it would seem that it was as a consequence of an initiative from the Fund, which did it honour, that the Board of the National Gallery set in train negotiations to obtain from the Treasury an increase in the purchase grant equivalent to the income received from the charges.

At the annual general meeting of the Fund in 1923 its Chairman said: "It is high time to put an end to these two extra pay days at the National Gallery. They were imposed as a temporary measure, have lasted too long, and should be speedily abolished."

And in the end the Treasury agreed to increase the purchase grant proportionately from April 1, 1924, when the charges in question were in fact abolished by the Board of the National Gallery.



The initiative, the discretion, the power

The episode of 1920-24, and the way in which it can be documented, throws definitive light on the rôle of the Trustees in relation to the Department responsible in Parliament. The initiative, the discretion as to detail, and the decisive power to determine are seen to be accepted by both parties as resting with the Trustees, who for their part have due regard for the necessity for Departmental consent for any measures in the field of public finance. But in spite of the fact that the present Government was under an evident obligation to make this clear to the Trustees and to the general public (especially in circumstances when the Government was insisting on the Trustees adopting a controversial policy for which their endorsement was not forthcoming), it proved exceptionally difficult over a period of weeks and even months to extract any statement from the Government admitting the independent nature of the Trustees' status and powers, on which, however, as it eventually transpired, the Government proposed to rely for the implementation of its policy.

Even odder, and scarcely redounding to the credit and good judgment of the present Chairman of the

National Gallery (Sir John Witt) was his unhelpful attitude towards my request to arrange for the staff of the Gallery to provide me with copies of the official correspondence preceding the imposition of charges in 1921. He replied that he did not "think it would be right" to do so, and though I pressed him to give more substantial reasons than his personal opinion for denying facilities which I have no ground for believing that the staff would have been unwilling to extend to a Member of Parliament in exercising his functions, the Chairman persisted in adhering to his view without condescending to offer any explanation whatsoever.



'Entirely wrong and improper'

Two conceivable reasons for this curious attitude turned out to be without validity. First, since I was eventually able to ascertain that the counterparts of this correspondence, originating from the Treasury files, were accessible without let or hindrance in the Public Record Office, the correspondence in question could in no sense be claimed as confidential. Secondly, in a written answer to a Parliamentary Question on November 11, the Secretary of State replied to me (under the somewhat casually inaccurate heading "Tate Gallery") that authority from her for the Chairman's attitude was not sought and is not required.

The consequence is, therefore, that we are left with the disturbing fact that the Chairman of the National Gallery so misconceived his responsibilities in that hitherto independent office as to fail to realise that far from being right and proper, it was entirely wrong and improper to adopt the attitude which he did. The correspondence of 1920-1 reveals clearly a fact which the Government has consistently sought to play down as much as possible, namely, that the National Gallery Board is in no sense an appendage of any Government Department. What are we to make of a Chairman who conducts himself in such a manner as to lend such support as he can muster (without, indeed, any "authority" from the Secretary of State herself being given or required) to the unjustifiable smokescreen which the Government has so long persisted in maintaining over the question?

Apart from the testimony which the correspondence of 1920-1 affords on the subject of the status of the Board, two other important considerations clearly emerge from it. The first is that the objections of the Under-Secretary to the receipts from the charges being made available to the individual institutions cannot be sustained; when replying to Questions on November 19, 1970, he referred to "the difficulty of specifically allocating to a specific object charges raised in this particular way." But it would now appear that there is no genuine "difficulty" in providing for the proceeds to go to the institutions; there is merely lack of willingness to facilitate it. In this connection I would refer to a letter, published in the "Times" on October 30, 1970, from the President of the

Museums Association, in which he stated that, whatever differences there might be over the admissibility of entrance charges he believed that there was one condition that his colleagues would unanimously agree to be absolutely vital, namely, that any money thus taken should be added to the funds of the museum concerned.

Few could doubt that this view is indeed held by the British curatorial profession as a whole, and that the vast majority of the museum-going public would have every sympathy with it. In addition, readers of the Guardian may be reminded that it also has the endorsement of Sir Julian Huxley, FRS, a former Director-General of UNESCO; in his letter, published on October 26, Sir Julian also gave his support to the principle of allowing free access to the National Gallery on at least one day a week, as the Trustees have stated that they desire, and as is the normal practice in museums abroad which do charge.

This brings us to the second consideration which transpired very clearly from the correspondence of 1920-1, which is that both the Department and the Gallery took for granted the principle of partial free access for the public. Certainly the National Gallery was rather more in favour of it, since it was prepared to forgo the financial proceeds from still another day offered it by the Department, but the latter evidently had no desire whatever to dispute the validity of the concept. Unfortunately these problems are not so sensibly approached today, when the Minister responsible confronts us with the specious, and self-contradictory, argument that (on the one hand) the resultant loss of revenue would be such that the Treasury could not afford, and that (on the other) the majority of the institutions are so constructed as to be unable to contend, from the security point of view, with the overcrowding which would result.

The obvious answer to this is that, since the location of the Tate and the individual Boards in this matter is now at long last acknowledged, the particular judgment of each on the security aspect ought evidently to be deferred to.

Let us now return to the National Gallery, the comments of whose Board on the question of admission charges, dated March 4, 1971, appeared on pages 19-20 of the Report published at the beginning of last July. In this, their only public pronouncement on the topic which exists up to the moment of writing, they make it perfectly clear that they "consider that there should be at least one free day in the week." In the meantime, however, the Minister responsible, who has continued to resist the concept of a free day even after his arguments against it have so largely collapsed, has been expressing from time to time his confidence that the Trustees (obligingly jettisoning their independence) will do just whatever he says, in every respect.

The latest manifestation of this, in the House of Lords on October 18, 1971, took the gratuitously offensive form of stating that since the Trustees "get all the money from the Government they always agree with the Government over the general picture."

The point which requires emphasis here is that while some might consider it possible to argue in favour of compliance, even if reluctantly, with the general policy of a Government, almost all thoughtful people would regard it as undignified and utterly improper for the Trustees to do so. It is outrageous for any Government to insist that bodies which had hitherto enjoyed justifiable independence in matters of detail, should comply with every single ministerial ipse dixit in this regard.



The moment of urgent need

For the evident fact is that the function of Trustees for the nation is to have proper regard to the interests of the public, as they conceive them, as well as the requirements of the Government. And how can the present Government go through the motions of wishing verbal success to the Trustees' Appeal for the Titian with any semblance of sincerity, as long as the Minister remains unwilling to make the gesture of taking the minimal practical step of withdrawing the objections which he has previously raised to a now relatively uncostly free day? That is of withdrawing his objections to the Trustees of the National Gallery exercising as they desire, a power which is demonstrably and admittedly within their entire discretion and competence? And when also (if one may express a hope) are the Trustees going to make it clear to the public to whom they are about to appeal that they have summoned up the courage of their convictions in this respect? Such action would without question strengthen the Board's credentials in the eyes of the public at the very moment when the need for this has become most urgent.

review



Owen Brannigan: QEH

NEW VICTORIA

Robin Denselow

B. B. King

B. B. KING, possibly the most commercially successful artist in the entire history of the Blues, is moving on yet again. Over the past two years (particularly since his American tour with the Rolling Stones) he has become accepted—quite simply—as the greatest amplified Blues guitarist in the world. Once the little-known inspiration behind Clapton, Bloomfield, and dozens of other contemporary rock musicians, he has finally, at the age of 43, become a super-star in his own right—for predominantly white audiences. Chuck Berry injected white rock with black B and B; King is an equal influence—he's moved the finest Chicago Blues-playing from city clubs to rock festivals.

He's always admitted to being ambitious, and could be that worship by the more hip guitar enthusiasts of the world is now not enough for him. At a rare British appearance at the New Victoria on Saturday he startled some of the more dedicated Blues fans by his decidedly popular approach. His guitar work was as dazzling as ever, leading and dominating a seven-piece band with clean, clear playing that ranged from delicate solos to thunderous rolling blues. At the same time he seemed particularly determined to project himself as a personality: eyes shut, face screwed up while he played, guitar half hidden by his massive form, and with a wry, humorous approach whenever he began singing. His choice of material, too, is beginning to widen. Mean city blues were interspersed with songs like "Humming Bird" which was treated very much in standard cabaret style until he stopped singing and began playing guitar. It seemed, in fact, that he was now bidding for the throne vacated by the late Louis Armstrong. It's quite possible that he'll make it: I just hope it doesn't affect his superb guitar work.

FANNY sounds like a bad joke, the rock bottom in rock gimmickry. They are the world's first all-female, highly amplified band: lead guitar, bass, drums and organ played by four surprisingly young, good-looking women who are based, predictably, in Los Angeles. They come on like a take-off of the all-girl spoof group in "Beyond the Valley of the Dolls." At their opening concert at the Speakeasy, June and Jean—two Filipino sisters—shook long black hair over their guitars while the men patrolled the room discussing the market potential of such a novelty.

Luckily they began to play before the scene became too ludicrous, and confused almost everyone by playing astonishingly well. That may sound like the typical British chauvinism, but one doesn't expect such an obviously gimmicky group to display anything approaching the tightness of the Band, the harmonising of Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young, or the attack of the Stones. Not that they are in the same league as any of those bands, but they've learnt from them all, and their fresh, driving style puts them firmly in the contemporary rock mainstream.

On stage, they are more interested in being musicians than being women: their music is never feminine in the way that the delicate personal songs of Joni Mitchell or even the screaming blues of the late Joplin were always feminine. They are simply a highly entertaining good-time rock band who just happen to look exceedingly decorative as well.

HAMPSTEAD

Ronald Atkins

Paul Bley

PAUL BLEY is a maverick among jazz musicians. A pianist with a respectable body of recorded work going back twenty years, he is always trying something new. Unlike such major figures as Miles Davis or John Coltrane, both of whom had built a solid image for themselves before changing their music, Bley has remained in the shadows. A man of real talent, he has rarely followed through his several ideas to give his playing an immediate identity. This restless search for new challenges is to be praised, but the mixture of styles made Saturday's

performance at the Country Club a confusing experience.

A large slice of his experimenting has been taken up with the synthesiser, and this electric juggernaut has yet to be tamed to fit the demands of the jazz soloist. You can treat it as an organ; you can produce wondrous noises—at times, Bley filled the club with what sounded like the steady exhalations of an African shrill; but it has so far proved to be too intractable for the highest kind of prolonged musical invention. It can be used as part of a larger setting, when accompanying Annette Peacock, who sang tortuous but oddly attractive ballads and also played electric piano. Bley came up with some gripping effects. Too often, though, he was caught by the feedback and distortion.

In the stretches we heard of his piano playing Bley showed a fine mastery of subtle melodic phrasing, especially when he improvised single note lines against a sketchy bass background. So convincing and personal at this comparatively mundane activity he made one wish that he had tilted his programmes more in this direction. A stimulating, if sometimes irritating, recital.

QEH

Hugo Cole

Acts & Galatea

DR WILLIAM SMITH takes nearly 70 pages to sort out editions, adaptations, and performances of Handel's "Acts and Galatea" during the composer's lifetime. The Marine Society put it on to provide funds for "Clothing Boys for the Sea": you could get the whole work arranged for flute solo. Many of the stars of that day and later days eventually appeared in it, for Acts is a storehouse of famous and beautiful solos, which great singers down the generations have made their own, sometimes in ways which outrage the experts. What would Handel have thought of the way in which Owen Brannigan put over "Oh Biddie than the Cherry" on Saturday? A robust interpretation, in which tone was often coarsened for the sake of dramatic effect, and in which florid passages were sometimes blurred; yet the first time during the evening when the music had come fully to life; and it was through subsequent interaction with Polyphemus that the other singers were encouraged to give something more than a correct and idiomatically tasteful run-through of the works.

The second half went well from the start. The Halsey Singers, light-voiced, clear and absolutely steady let us hear every detail of the opening chorus in which the mournful "wretched lovers" theme is broken into by agitated contrapuntal warnings of sea monsters' approach. In the final numbers the work became much more than the "wretched lovers" theme seemed to be earlier on. What had been missing before in this lively and precise performance was, I suppose, the poetic imagination needed to transform a piece of mock-mythology into an exploration of genuine emotion.

A THOROUGHLY romantic programme at Fairfield Hall, with the London Symphony Orchestra under Istvan Kertész offering the traditional three courses—overture, concerto and symphony. The overture was Weber's Oberon, played with less warmth and fire than the music deserves, in a brisk twentieth-century manner. The temperature soon rose, not to fall again during the evening as Silvia Marcovici attacked the solo part of Tchaikovsky's "Witch's Song." The 18-year-old Hungarian girl was perfectly cast here: a vehement and passionate player with what seemed to be, in this hall at least, a prodigious volume of tone.

Even in "piano e cantabile" she sells the music hard; but all is evidently done in sincerity, and her technique is fully up to all the demands made of the music. The finale was perhaps the most emphatic for the concert—one really should not try to play the whole work appassionato—or perhaps one can? Consciously intellectual players often make the music thin, which Miss Marcovici never did. There certainly is a "witch's" wit in the music, but many unexpected, beautiful passages against solo violin in slow movement, and that wonderfully imagined bassoon-versus-violin in harmonics in the Finale.

MANCHESTER

Merete Bates

Contemporary art

YOU COULD CALL the Northern Young Contemporaries at the new North Gallery, Manchester, the show of the absent artist—the focus on a pond of aching purposelessness. In its extreme it takes the form of a type foolscap page. This exhibit reads like the work of an artist (or his representative) with any individual or group of individuals. Nothing else is needed except the space to pin up the notes.

This reminds me of an exam question: "Write out Psalm 54" to which the answer "Psalm 54" was logically awarded full marks. But of course it begged the question. If the page is simply the sculptor's resignation while he goes on to higher things, it is superb. Held to be better than the sculptor's simply flouting a savage cleverness, it's a pity, even sad, to find such an ambiguous, divisive quality obviously esteemed here.

There are a few works with a conventional, more positive intention. Rosemary Purnell's soft, blanket stripes had a warmth that went beyond decoration. Janet Ludlow's dark, stained canvases hung like a skin stretched for a holocaust and a cut above all the rest—Glen Owen (a prize-winning artist) hung a gaunt collection of spattered canvases broken by dull metal plates. This work was resonant with dull, blue sheen of splendour. In the girls, substance, assertion, lack in so much of the rest.

Edward Greenfield's record will appear tomorrow.

The

last penni



مكتبة الشهاب

The sex Olympiad

MAURICE GIRODIAS has a mild, open, prep-school face that belies his age—fifty-two—and his profession, founder of Olympia Press and publisher of the best and worst erotic literature of our time. He could be called the Daddy of modern porn except that the real Daddy is Mr. Girodias's own father, Jack Kahane, founder of the Obelisk Press. Between the two of them they spent the porn scene from the early thirties to the present day: forty years of good unclean family fun, give or take a few breathers here and there.

Both father and son appear to have fallen upon this particular genre of publishing almost by accident, their faces innocently aglow with the desire to make easy money. Jack Kahane (Girodias's father) left his native Manchester at the beginning of the first World War "in order," says his son, "to fight and, if possible, die a just death." Instead of death he met Girodias's mother, a Frenchwoman, and thus fatally depraved and corrupted, decided never to go back to England. "The climate of England at that time did not appeal to him," remarks his son, "it was what you call uptight today."

Last pennies

After several years of illness (he was gassed at the Front) Jack Kahane invested his last pennies in publishing, among other things, some of his own books. "They were far from remarkable but not too bad. My father was a very frivolous man, he liked society and the ladies quite a bit and he had the best mistress I've ever seen picked by any one man, alive or dead. At the time, I was very snooty, very into theosophy and mysticism and vegetarianism and found his activities very superficial. I disapproved intensely which only goes to show."

But Jack Kahane, bon viveur and lady's man, was not to remain just another publisher. In those early thirties, when England and America were hide-bound splinter aunts and only France basked in the sunlight of complete artistic freedom, he came across Henry Miller. "To him this was a new thing, it went beyond anything that he was planning to do. Henry Miller is really the Pope of them all, the first liberator of American and English writing. Without him we'd still be a long way behind."

And shortly after publishing Miller, Jack Kahane found himself in the odd position of being a frivolous man with a mission, the only publisher willing and able to publish books of erotica in the English language. Laurence Durrell followed in Miller's footsteps with his "Black Book" and then came the famous "Radcliffe Hall." Obelisk Press flourished in that tolerant pre-war France where the last prosecution served on a writer was for Flaubert's "Madame Bovary."

"La Garçonne," written by Victor Marguerite in 1929 was, in its day, the most scandalous book ever written and it was a best-seller. But Victor was not prosecuted. All that happened was that his Legion d'Honneur was withdrawn from him and that created its

own scandal, many people argued that the government had no right to do it. In those days France was a truly free country — today, when I see what she has become, I feel schizophrenic."

Jack Kahane died at the outbreak of the second World War, "out of disgust with Hitler" and, after many other publishing ups and downs, Maurice Girodias started his own Olympia Press in 1953 and began producing those olive green books so eagerly snapped up by unscrupulous English and American tourists. "I remembered my father's example at last and I needed an easy money-making thing. I printed 'Zorba the Greek,' a few finds of that type, but the major change was when I published the first French version of Miller's 'Tropic of Capricorn'."

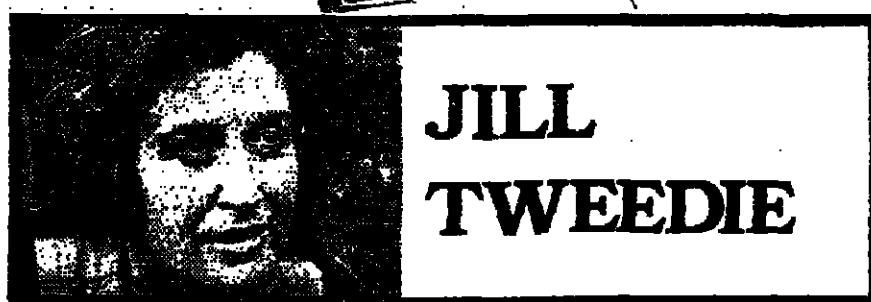
So the son was launched in the footsteps of his father, though the freedom revolution he had known was fast being eroded and Maurice Girodias was constantly harassed by the French Government. It is not surprising that he sees censorship as a political weapon and any campaign against "pornography" as the first step taken by a repressive government.

"You can see it when you look at Russia, China, Portugal, Spain. In Tsarist Russia most revolutionaries believed in what was called free love, in fact, sexual freedom was one of the items of the revolutionary programme. But when the Bolsheviks got into power they very quickly realised that such freedom is an anarchic thing, bad for party discipline and so they imposed a very strict censorship. They turned the Russians into a bunch of puritans for political reasons. The same thing happened when Hitler came to power, he eliminated the permissiveness of the previous régime and instituted a strict morality in Germany. And what about England during the industrial revolution—there was a great need to keep the working classes in order and stop them asking questions so, again, a strict morality was imposed."

Inherent danger

The French, Mr. Girodias believes, became accustomed to censorship under the German occupation and changed from a country where "censorship" was an insulting word to a repressive society. The repression was reinforced two decades later, by the Algerian war: the Parisian bookshop that was constantly raided during those troubles for selling books on torture by the military, was raided again once the troubles were over, this time for selling "indecent" literature. The censors had, as it were, worn a path to its door under one hat and were therefore unquestioned when they took that path again under a new hat. Which illustrates, perhaps, one of the greatest dangers inherent in censorship.

"Censorship of any kind always goes with reactionary regimes and political dictatorships. It's a very simple thing to understand. Censorship was used by the Catholic Church and, before that, the Jewish establishment, to impose discipline on its citizens. And since I suppose sex to be a major cultural drive, a force liable to transform man



JILL
TWEEDIE



picture of Maurice Girodias, by John Fildmore

and often his main motivation for doing things it is logical that the first thing an activist government will do is deprive him of as much sexual freedom as possible. It is a sign, in fact, of evolution when a country like America discards censorship and goes into an era of ridiculous porn as they are now. But then, it is always difficult, that transitional period between puritanism and freedom."

The transformation happens, says Mr. Girodias, more quickly with Protestant

countries like Scandinavia and Denmark, more slowly with the Latin countries. "The first phase of any sexual revolution is usually the historic trial against some publisher. The publisher wins and the climate changes overnight. Films and other media follow the example of books and after that people start questioning many other things, everything from education to the structure of their society. You can see each phase following the next like a textbook, quite predictably. I can

even assess how quickly it will happen by the population of a country. Four million will take three months, 12 million from six months to a year and, in large countries like the States, with around 200 million, it would probably take twenty years in all. America started ten years ago and, though the cities are completely free it will take another ten years to touch the hinterlands."

Mr. Girodias adds that he likes such protracted revolutions since he can then do the most profitable business. He admits, with a rueful smile, that in both Holland and Denmark, with their small populations, he was overtaken by the sexual revolution and his books were already obsolete before they came out, weakened and dented by the sudden torrent of stronger game. England, he thinks, is right in the middle of her revolution and suffering at the moment from a sort of stage fright.

"Like a middle-aged woman suddenly finding herself naked in the streets, she panics and shouts for the police. But it is a purely temporary crisis and our little sideshow... (the London office of Olympia Press were raided last week) is just a test, I think. The Mrs. Whitehouses are really prehistoric animals. It is impossible for a modern country to resist increasing freedom; people travel and it is very hard to halt the progress of a country in full communication with other countries." Our own special brand of pornography is, according to Mr. Girodias, mainly sado-masochistic and he ascribes this partly to the English character and partly to the class structure.

Lost challenge

"There was a very rich fund of pornography in Victorian times and if you read, for instance, 'My Secret Life' you will see how the working classes were treated as sexual objects, to be trampled upon and manipulated because not really considered fully human. It may be that this feeling about a whole group of people heightened sadism and then, of course, the tradition of the armed forces and colonialism served as a good training in full communication with other countries." Our own special brand of pornography is, according to Mr. Girodias, mainly sado-masochistic and he ascribes this partly to the English character and partly to the class structure.

Mr. Girodias's opinion of British publishers is not too high either — he thinks them a craven lot on the whole, unwilling to take up the challenge he feels necessary, to lead the sexual revolution with the written word.

"The English film industry was very lucky to have John Trevelyan as official censor. He did an heroic job, very intelligent and civilised, always trying to reach the perfect compromise between free artistic expression and public prejudice. But who is doing the same for literature? Lord Goodman could have done it but he chickened out — I was very disappointed. Nor

does it need much to make British publishers back down," the 'Last Exit to Brooklyn' prosecution was enough for most of them to abandon 20 per cent of their new authors though it is an economic fact that they could not survive at all without erotic literature. The most respectable publishers have these books on their lists, disguised as sexual documentation or "famous cases" or some such hypocrisy."

No censorship at all, "not a shred," is Maurice Girodias's formula for freedom. That some people may not be ready for such freedom is, to him, beside the point since such people will develop more quickly than under a climate of restraint and repression. From the nineteenth-century ethic of "knowing your place" and obedience to orders from Above the sexual revolution is leading us into a new era of freedom in which he says "we will be obliged to behave as free people."

"And that," says Maurice Girodias leaning back in his armchair "is no bed of roses."

Miller v. Millett

I AGREE WITH much that Mr. Girodias says, particularly that sexual repression by censorship, whether governmental or ecclesiastical, is a political weapon. Nevertheless there lingers alongside all his words the substantial shadow of his books. Some are so badly written as to be hilarious — a book on his current list describes a man having an orgasm by saying "he vocalised for several minutes, a phrase that sends shudders of sex down nobody's spine. Some are the very best of their kind: Jean Genet holds a glass darkly to respectable society and illuminates many of its most squalid corners. Terry Southern's 'Candy' is funny and sexy and blessedly warm-hearted to women, a rare virtue in pornography."

What an irony that Valerie Solanas's "SCUM Manifesto," that scream of rage against the masculine world, should have been published by Mr. Girodias; for all he may say (and mean) of his sympathies towards women's liberation the whole pattern of pornography is one long wretched saga of female degradation. Olympia's own "Story of O" is a demand for the total sexual submission of women, made all the more powerful and, to my mind, obscene by its strong "spiritual" justifications—a veritable bible of feminine martyrdom.

And the books of Henry Miller. Mr. Girodias's Pope of erotic literature, have come full circle again. For years they were labelled obscene for their language, their detailed descriptions of intercourse. Now, after a honeymoon period of acceptance, they are labelled obscene again, this time by women like Kate Millett, for the descriptions of women as objects, to be used and abused, laughed at and insulted. In her criticism ("Sexual Politics") Miss Millett approaches, I believe, the true heart of obscenity—the abuse of human beings—but even so, she would not have Mr. Miller's books banned. Publish, by all means, and then be damned.



A personal view

Consumer democracy

WHO PROTECTS the consumers of consumer organisations? The Automobile Association increases its subscription, the Consumers' Association announces the launching of a new magazine. Were the members of these organisations consulted? Who ensures that they get value for money or tests their new products?

Questions like these are given added force by the current explosion of "consumerism" in its widest sense: the rapid growth of national and local groups aiming to represent the public as consumers of education, of town planning decisions and of welfare services. It is a sign, in fact, of growth as a sign of grass-roots democracy. But the experience of the AA and the CA suggests that it could strengthen the oligarchy of the well-intentioned rather than democracy.

Take the case of the AA, with its 4,500,000 members and £17 millions a year income. In recent years the AA has been stressing its rôle as a consumer organisation. It is run, in the words of its spokesman, rather "like a very large tennis club," by a committee of 16 headed by Lord Brentford.

The AA committee falls into the category of a self-perpetuating oligarchy in practice if not in theory. A quarter of the committee retire every year, and the four places are filled by the votes of members at the Annual General Meeting held at the Savoy in London. All 4,500,000 members of the AA are entitled to vote and to nominate a candidate. In practice, about three or four hundred turn up. More important still, there is the AA's Catch 22: Clause 18 (2c) of its rules states that candidates must "prior to the Annual General Meeting have been approved by at least three-fourths of the members of the committee present." In other words, the outgoing committee of this particular tennis club decide who is eligible for nomination.

However it is easier to be critical than to suggest remedies. The AA plaintively stresses its own readiness to change the system if only someone could come up with a suggestion which would extend democracy without opening the way for a minority take-over. What, for example, if there were to be a coup by the motor trade and all the garage owners were to descend on the Savoy to elect their own men to the committee?

Such spine-chilling fears may be exaggerated. The experience of the CA suggests that the real problem is not so much to guard against the excesses of democracy but to persuade members to exercise democratic rights. Like the AA, the CA is in practice a self-perpetuating oligarchy—in spite, rather than because of, its constitution.

Nudged by the Molony Committee on Consumer Protection, the CA in 1967 revised its constitution to make its Council directly elected. A third of the council of 15—by and large representatives of the intellectual establishment—come up for re-election every year. All CA members are entitled to vote and stand, although the Council

At the Consumer Association's annual general meeting on Saturday, Mrs Jennifer Jenkins proposed a Ministry of Consumer Affairs. But Rudolf Klein suggests here that Parliament might also interest itself in the consumer organisations themselves

can bar any candidate who is "engaged as principal in the manufacture, distribution and sale of goods or commodities" a clause which has not yet been invoked though it protects the CA against a take-over bid by trade interests.

Anyone who has subscribed continuously to "Which?" for three years can become an eligible voting member of CA. Currently there are about 250,000 such potential members. However, only 2,473 of them—less than one per cent of those eligible and less than half per cent of the 618,000 subscribers to "Which?"—have bothered to become voting members.

Experience

So although contested Council elections are the rule in the CA, rather than the exception as in the AA, the actual experience of the two organisations is not so very different. Neither is exactly an active democracy. Usually less than 200 people attend the AGM of the CA and between 60 and 70 per cent of all members take part in the postal ballots which decide elections (though this still means that these are decided by fewer than 1,500 people). The Council nominees are usually returned.

What, then, does ensure that the interests of the AA and CA consumers are regarded by the organisations to which they subscribe? The answer is that both bodies are large businesses and, as such, have to pay attention to what the customer wants. It is commercial self-interest, not the constitution, which protects the subscriber.

Like many businesses, the AA goes in for regular sampling. It employs public opinion firms to find out the opinions of its members on current issues: for example, about speed limits or breathalyser tests. It uses market research techniques to find out the views of members about services and products: for instance, the accepta-

bility of the AA's new magazine, Drive, was tested in this way.

The CA also uses market research methods. It asks its members about what they would like to see in future issues of its various magazines. The decision to launch the new "Handyman Which?" was taken only after sampling subscribers had shown an overwhelming demand for such a periodical in preference to various alternatives.

There is a certain irony in this trend. Here are two bodies which were both founded as non-commercial organisations; indeed the CA even had a streak of overt anti-commercialism. However, they are most democratic—the sense of being responsive to the views of their members—when they are most commercial in their methods. In the last resort it is commercial necessity which restricts the oligarchies running these organisations.

Market forces have their disadvantages, however. For example, the CA's campaigning rôle is inhibited by commercial pressures: many of its subscribers simply want "best buy" information and resent money being spent idealistically to serve the public interest at large rather than the specific interests of those buying the magazines.

One possible, if partial, solution is that adopted by the National Trust—itsself a rather hybrid organisation, partly representing its own members as consumers and partly a trustee of property on behalf of the country as a whole. The rules for electing members of the council are much like those of the CA, though no special qualifications are needed to become a voter (indeed in a postal ballot conducted in 1966, more than 50,000 votes were recorded). However, only half the 62 councillors are elected; the rest are nominated by a variety of outside bodies, ranging from the Royal Academy of Arts to the Ramblers' Association. Here at least there is some protection against in-breeding.

The National Trust's constitution is embodied in an Act of Parliament, last amended earlier this year. It may be that Parliament should now extend its interest to cover other major consumer bodies as well. It is not that there is an impending danger that these are likely to be taken over by irresponsible or corrupt people. The real problem is both more subtle and more difficult. Company law can try to protect the public against cheats and tricksters. But how is the public to be protected against those who may try to use large organisations for their own ends precisely because they are conscious of their own integrity and good intentions?

Elisabeth Dunn is on holiday

This week in Woman's Guardian: THE SUPERSELLERS, a four part series on the men who masterminded the super-market boom, and the way they do it

How to begin when the IRA leaves off

There are encouraging signs that the bipartisan policy on Northern Ireland may be continued following Mr Wilson's visit there. Doubtless he will have new proposals to make, but he has already rejected direct rule as a positive instrument of policy; he sees it only as a counsel of despair to be introduced after political breakdown. This is surely right. Ultimately the political future of Northern Ireland can only be decided by its own people, Protestant and Catholic. Anything which encourages their political leaders to hope that others will solve their problem for them is dangerous. The British rôle must be conciliatory, not neo-colonialist.

Mr Wilson also has sound political reasons for sticking to bipartisanship, whatever the temptations of a quick swipe at the Conservatives. He has now seen the conditions in which the British Army—sent to Ulster by the Labour Government—is operating. Living is hard, the ghetto Catholics are unfriendly, danger is constant, and casualties are high. General Sir Harry Tuzo will have given Mr Wilson his assessment of the military possibilities: that the intelligence information which has become available since intervention, resulting in the capture of large numbers of IRA men and arms, offers a reasonable chance that the army will break the back of IRA resistance by the spring. Vietnam is a reminder that generals are sometimes too optimistic; Malaya and Borneo show that they are sometimes right. Vietnam has another lesson also. Sir Harry will doubtless have told Mr Wilson that any sign that Britain is to be politically split down the middle over Ireland would damage the morale of his soldiers and encourage the IRA to continue their campaign in the hope of exhausting British public will.

There are only three options on the security front. One is to withdraw the army and leave Ireland to civil war. That is not to be thought of. The second, which is being urged by some extreme Protestants, is a so-called tougher policy. It is difficult to see what this means, unless it is a greater disregard for the lives of those who, voluntarily or not, find themselves in districts controlled by the IRA. Some Protestants are so angered by the continuing campaign of shootings and explosions that they would like to see the army using heavier weapons and shooting less discriminately. This would cause an enormous death toll and is also unthinkable.

The third choice, which has been adopted, is the only proper one in such an anti-terrorist campaign. The army is acting in support of the civil power, a democratically elected government. It must act within the law, and its principal weapon is intelligence. That is why the issue of internment must be faced honestly, by the Labour Party and others. Imprisonment without trial is an obnoxious weapon in any society. We are critical of it in Communist or Fascist countries. It must be ended as quickly as possible within Britain, as it was after the war. But those who call for an immediate end to internment must face the facts. The army and police were getting little intelligence about the IRA before August 9. One reason was sympathy for the IRA in the Catholic ghettos. But the other was intimidation. Since internment information has become available in remarkable quantities.

Internment and intelligence

The public is rightly concerned about the interrogation methods which probably produced some of this information, and they are now being reviewed. But much damage to the IRA's command structure, particularly in Belfast, and many arms seizures have resulted from information that came not from that source but from men who were afraid to talk while some of the internees were at large. Critics of internment, when asked whether well-known IRA men ought to be released to kill more soldiers and civilians, reply that they should be charged. In many cases this answer is either naïve or dishonest. The police or army could offer no hope of protection to key witnesses in such trials. The names of murderers in some specific cases are known to the police, but the witnesses who could convict them have declined to give evidence because they would be killed. If anyone thinks IRA intimidation is a police fairy tale they should remember the bodies found in ditches with the backs of their heads shot out, or the men shot through the knees. Those who say that internment must end immediately have so far ignored this argument. The reason is that there is no satisfactory answer to it. If internment ended tomorrow intelligence information would dry up again, and the army would either have to act in a way which would cause heavy casualties or withdraw and leave Ireland to civil war. There is an obligation

on those who challenge the present policy to say which course they would take.

Assuming the more cheerful military assessment is correct, the Ulster problem becomes a political one again. The army can remove the scourge of IRA intimidation from Catholics who oppose it. The job of giving the Catholic community a new loyalty and leadership is one for politicians. Even some moderate Catholic political leaders now believe that early Irish unification must be their aim. The argument goes like this: the Unionists have run this chronically divided state in the only practical way, with the majority firmly in control; the Catholics cannot hope for real power within that state; there must be an early transfer of power from Stormont to a commission which will run the area while negotiations for unity take place; the Protestant backlash against such a course will last only 48 hours.

This case does not bear close examination. There are too many Protestants who are determined to remain within the United Kingdom to make it either right or practical. Even if a united Ireland was, miraculously, established without bloodshed, the new state would contain a minority of one million sullen, betrayed, and uncooperative Protestants. More probably the large working class Protestant ghettos of Belfast and other towns would turn into gigantic Bogside, with no law except that of the vigilante gunman. Ireland might easily become a land of pogroms. The Catholic MPs, who have always spoken of unity by peaceful means, must be careful of seeming to ride on the backs of the IRA. They should seek to negotiate a compromise deal as soon as the security situation makes negotiations feasible.

The Unionists' alternative

Mr Faulkner's Government, by contrast, wants gradual reform within Northern Ireland. By previous Unionist standards it is anything but gradual: parliamentary committees with half the chairmanships reserved for Catholics; a Catholic in the Cabinet, and probably more to follow; proportional representation: larger Commons and Senate to give a wider political view. The Catholics would have more influence in such a system, and Mr Faulkner has proved that he is prepared to bully his own supporters to get that.

But will it persuade Catholics to abjure violence as a means of abolishing the border? The Unionist argument is that what ordinary Catholics want immediately is a square deal within Northern Ireland, and that the Government's reforms will be seen to produce that. Catholic MPs, it is argued, were not elected to serve in a Government with Unionists. The weakness in the argument is that the British parliamentary system works only because the two main parties alternate in power. The certainty that Catholic MPs will be permanently in opposition makes resistance to the system inevitable.

If Catholic MPs are to seize the leadership of their community back after the IRA begins to lose ground, what they must have is real and demonstrable power. Ideally, of course, this could come about from a reshaping of the party system in Northern Ireland, with two non-sectarian parties on the Right and Left. But that would take years to evolve. Some form of community government, therefore, seems the only viable path to peace. But at present Mr Faulkner says it is impossible for Unionists to work in a Cabinet with MPs who oppose the union with Britain. This is an attitude that could conceivably be modified if Mr Faulkner meets the SDLP at the conference which must follow any security success. Each side could retain its long-term aims on the border while working together in the practical business of government and administration. But it may be that Mr Faulkner is right, and that a Cabinet cannot be created out of two groups which trust each other so little and have different views on the very existence of the State. In that event there will be little alternative but to lift the issue of the border out of parliamentary politics altogether, and leave it to periodic referenda.

A new kind of Stormont

If the two groups cannot work in a Cabinet, Stormont may have to make a more radical leap into a new form of regional government than has so far been contemplated. It is doubtful whether Scotland or Wales could create a system of alternating governments either, for Labour would probably have a monopoly of power in both Edinburgh and Cardiff. Stormont may have to be content with a committee system in which power is more generally shared, instead of the present single party Cabinet system. Could it operate with a governing body which is something less than a Cabinet, but considerably more than a general purposes committee? The important fact for both Unionists and their opponents to realise is that any success against the IRA will only be the beginning of a period of great political change. It will be a major opportunity for the Catholics and an important challenge for the Protestants. Their community will suffer terribly if the imagination of either side falters.

A COUNTRY DIARY

CHESHIRE: The strong north-westerly winds of early November brought a great variety of pelagic birds close to the north Wirral coast. A friend, during a walk along the Meols promenade, saw no less than three Sabine's gulls, two storm petrels, a Leach's petrel, several Manx and a sooty shearwater and numerous kittiwakes, all, except the first, birds which normally spend their time, out of the breeding season, in the open sea. Sabine's gull is a fork-tailed tern-like bird which breeds in the high Arctic and moves southward during the winter. It was first recorded off the Cheshire coast in 1950 but there have been over a dozen records since then, almost certainly because of the increasing number of skilled observers rather than through any change in the bird's habits. Meanwhile, winter visitors continue to arrive. By mid-November, the duck on the big mere had greatly increased in number and had been joined by several goldeneye, and a couple of waxwings were feeding upon apples on a tree in a Wilslow garden. At that date I had received no reports of siskins nor bramblings, but redwings and fieldfares, golden plover and common gulls were well distributed again. Earlier in the autumn, a new bird was added to the county list when a great shearwater was identified off the coast of Wirral.

L. P. SAMUELS

More words or war?

JOCK BRUCE-GARDYNE, MP, on the implications of President Sadat's latest burst of verbal aggression.

PRESIDENT SADAT reviewing his troops on the Canal this weekend.



PRESIDENT SADAT of Egypt is a master of the art of verbal escalation. This was to be the "Year of Decision" for Egypt and Israel. With only seven weeks to go, Israel, the United States, and the rest of the world were warned officially from Cairo that Egypt would "feel free to act" if diplomacy had made no progress towards ejecting Israeli troops from Arab territory by the year's end.

And now the president has told his frontline troops that "the time for battle has come" and given them a rendezvous in Sinai.

The president knows as well as anyone else that a resumption of full-scale hostilities with Israel would only lead to another humiliation for Egyptian arms, while the resumption of the ground and air bombardment across the Canal (which in any case was not what Sadat was talking to his troops about on Saturday) would, notwithstanding the sophistication of the Russian aerial defences between Cairo and the Canal, be likely to inflict more damage on Egypt than on the Israeli army.

So it seems reasonable to suppose that his words were not meant, primarily, for the soldiers who heard them. My guess would be that they were meant for Moscow.

Since the six-day war, the Arab countries have had considerable success in the battle for world sympathy. Prior to 1967, the picture of Israel as a small democratic nation sur-

rounded by rich and powerful foes commanded wide support, coloured as it was in Western Europe by memories of the humiliation of Suez.

General de Gaulle, as so often, was the first to foresee that an Israeli conquest of large areas of Arab territory would transform that situation. Since the passage of the November, 1967, UN resolution calling on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories, in return for Arab recognition of the 1948-67 frontier, the American State Department has become visibly impatient with the one-sided attitude towards the Middle East imposed on successive US administrations by the American Jewish lobby.

Yet the harsh truth is that Israel shows, if anything, even less inclination to withdraw today than she did at the time of the passage of the resolution.

For intransigence pays. Israel has far more easily defensible frontiers than she had before the 1967 war. Her heartlands are no longer vulnerable to guerrilla attacks or Egyptian shelling. Arab frustration at the continuation of the Israel occupation ensures that the Egyptian Government cannot afford to weaken its links with Moscow, which in turn enables Mrs Meir to play up the menace of Russian communism in the Middle East for the benefit of American audiences.

Admittedly President Nixon has been persuaded to hold up the delivery of Phantom jets in an attempt to get the Israelis at least to agree to a

partial withdrawal in Sinai. This gesture has been totally ineffective — and not surprisingly, for so long as the Russians restrict themselves to the defence of Egypt west of the Canal, and the provision of armaments which the Egyptians could use for offensive operations across the Canal but only, in all probability, to lose them, Israel's defensive armaments are amply sufficient without the Phantoms.

This is why it seems logical to assume that President Sadat's warlike noises are beamed towards Moscow. For the Russians cannot relish the thought of another Egyptian military defeat. There is more to this than the desire to avert the humiliation of an ally.

Every defeat for Russian-equipped forces in the Middle East means the capture by the Israelis (and hence in Russian eyes, by the Americans) of sophisticated Russian arms, and also fresh evidence to support those Eastern European military leaders, particularly in Poland, who question the reliability of Russian equipment.

President Sadat cannot have many illusions about the likelihood of the present cautious leadership in the Kremlin being pressurised into committing Russian troops to offensive operations against Israel.

But he knows, and the Russians know, that détente with Russia is a major element in President Nixon's strategy for re-election. His task is to make the threat of a major conflagration in the Middle East appear sufficiently serious to

induce Mr Nixon to risk the wrath of American Jewry—which, after all, votes Democrat anyway.

There is one point, perhaps only one, at which Israel could be vulnerable to American pressure: the threat of a campaign, mounted by the White House, to secure withdrawal of the tax exemption for the financial contributions of the American Jewish community to the State of Israel in the absence of signs of a more accommodating spirit for Mrs Meir and her colleagues.

All this implies that President Sadat was once more bluffing on Saturday. Even if he was, his bluff could be called. I remember that at the time of Nasser's death, the general impression in Cairo was that Sadat's appointment was little more than a holding operation while the Egyptian leaders made up their minds who was to be the real successor to the departed hero.

Like other advertised stop-gaps, he has turned out otherwise. He has disposed of his most dangerous rival with apparent ease, and his increasingly warlike noises against Israel have sounded more like part of a calculated diplomatic strategy than the reflection of a need to protect his own flank.

But it is a diplomatic strategy full of risks. This time, if the latest threat is no more successful in shifting the Israelis than previous threats have been, then it is difficult to see how the President is to avoid a resumption of hostilities.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Facing facts

Sir,—In his letter (November 18) about Mrs Thatcher's decision to concentrate on primary schools the resources available for improving old buildings, Tyrrell Burgess does not mention two points which she made in the House of Commons on November 5. She said: "By the end of 1970 the number of new secondary places provided since the war was equivalent to well over 80 per cent of the secondary school population. The corresponding figure for primary schools was little more than 60 per cent. One million—one in five—of our primary schoolchildren are in nineteenth-century schools. This is true of only about one in twenty of our secondary schoolchildren.—Yours sincerely, N. C. Gwyn.

Chief Information Officer, Department of Education and Science, Curzon Street, London, W.1.

Cutting your costs

Sir,—After reading Peter Hillman's "marketing story of professional fees" (November 19), and subsequently hearing the radio discussion between officials of the Law Society and the National Home Owners' Society, it seems clear that the high legal costs of house purchase are levied for work which, in the great majority of transactions, is purely routine and repetitive. I can think of no other comparable purchase in which such great additional costs are incurred.

Is it not therefore time — especially in view of this Government's declared objective of a "home owning democracy" — that the work of conveyancing was taken away from the legal profession and done by an appropriate local or central government department, e.g. rating or land registry offices, which already have most of the relevant details of property?

In the great majority of cases the buying and selling of a house is no more complicated than that of a car, which is effectively dealt with by a relatively small government office at no cost whatsoever to either party.—Yours faithfully, Colin Dickinson.

King's Lynn, Norfolk.

MORE LETTERS on Page 12

ULSTER: two paths to take

Sir,—I know you will have a large mailbag on the subject of the Compton Report. May I put one aspect of it to you?

I have read, as anyone who reads at all must have read, hideous accounts of the torture of mind and body of those who are detained by the State in countries such as Russia, Greece, Portugal, Spain and our own distant kinsmen in South Africa. The ordinary people in those countries probably feel they can do nothing to affect these practices.

The Compton report has found no indications of torture or brutality—only "physical ill-treatment." Physical ill-treatment of people arrested on suspicion. This is the first step on the downhill descent. If we, in Britain, can raise a great outcry against these ill-treatment, done in our name, is this not only putting our own house in order, but also giving those oppressed people in the "torture" countries a little comfort?

The terrorists in Northern Ireland are causing both physical ill-treatment and mental torture to people every day of the week, but are we willing to do the same?—Yours faithfully, (Mrs) D. M. Burrell.

Trinkey Lane, Stoney Middleton, Yorkshire.

Sir,—One thing is abundantly evident from the deteriorating

situation in Ulster. If it continues it can lead only to unmitigated disaster. As terrorism and murder by the political fanatic result inevitably in more and more repression and increasing harshness on the part of those responsible for keeping law and order, the chances of reaching an understanding between the two sides that will bring peace and justice to all becomes more and more remote. There can be only one way for Ireland—North and South—and that is the way of Christ.

If all Christians, Catholic and Protestant, there and elsewhere—priests, ministers, politicians, teachers and all who are in a position to influence men's minds—would join together to fight hatred and bitterness and to work wholeheartedly for that reconciliation and forgiveness that is the foundation of their common faith—then and only then is there any hope.

If this fundamental change in man's attitude to man is to be brought about, everyone must be involved. Each must ask himself the question: Is what I say and do, even more important, the way I say it, likely to increase bitterness and recrimination and, as a corollary, what can I say and how can I say it, that will mitigate the sense of injustice and wrong on both sides and help to heal the wounds?

House of Lords. Stamp.

AID: political solutions take time...

Sir,—Nothing Mr Angus Calder (November 18) said is new to those of us working for voluntary agencies sending aid overseas. It is an old argument that our charitable effort is like attempting the cure of cancer with sticking plaster.

I sympathise with those who dismiss aid as irrelevant and demoralising. I know that the solution to the problem of world poverty must be political. Yet, during my first year in the development business I have usually been more impressed by people working on

rural development projects to improve conditions in the Third World than people breathing the hot air of political revolution.

Mr Calder calls for commitment to political solidarity with people in the Third World resenting aid. But this is a vague aim. It can be as arid a conscience-salver for the young left-winger as the £5 to Oxford for the middle-aged conservative.

Diana Bailey, Netheravon Road, London W.4.

Inquiry needed

Sir,—The Society for Education in Film and Television wishes to add its voice to those of the Free Communications Group, Time Out and others in demanding a public inquiry and public debate into the allocation of the last remaining television frequency to the ITA.

The ITA chairman Brian Young has stated that he does not want public debate on the matter, a curious statement for the chairman of a publicly licensed authority in command of a major network for communication, education and entertainment.—Yours faithfully, S. Rohdie.

General Secretary, Society for Education in Film and Television, London W.1.

The Economist

In this issue:

- 13 Leaders: Methods of war, Après Mao?
- 21 Britain: Parliament: more heat than light; Legal aid; Prescriptions; Hospitals; Women in the church
- 29 International Report: The five principles.....; South Africa; Vietnam; Thailand; Arabs; Israel; Chile.....
- 43 West Europe: The left wants more from Willy; France; East-west.....
- 52 American Survey: Phase 2 has a fighting chance; Campaign on a plate?.....
- 67 Books: No Son of Heaven?; Centaur; Insurgency; Gibberish; Calley.....
- 74 Business Brief: Is building booming?
- 77 Business: If the engineers strike; £50 million for ICL; Britain: Redundancy; Oil; Giro; Banking; Corporation Tax; Nuclear power.....
- 99 International: The Suez pipe's in trouble; EEC Airlines; Trucks; Germany; France; Japanese steel; Hungary
- 106 Investment: What's the scuttlebutt? British markets; Building bids; Newspapers; Ships; Accounting in Europe

An authoritative view for people who must be better informed.

FOR THE RICH ENJOYMENT OF THE MOST FAMOUS CLUB HOUSE IN THE WORLD

PUNCH
HAVANA



PETER JENKINS

March land winds

IT IS NO tragedy for the Government that there is going to be no debate on Northern Ireland this week. For Ministers have nothing new to say on the subject or, rather, nothing they are ready to say openly. But behind the scenes some crucially important policy decisions have been reached which could provide either the foundation for fresh hope or mark the point at which the Heath Government, like better governments before it, sank helplessly into the Irish bog.

The Government's first and overriding priority remains—as I have already reported—to “get on top of the gunmen.” Except that this phrase has now been expanded from the style book and Ministers are expected to speak about “making inroads into the strength of the IRA.” The point of this semantic shift is to make clear that political advance cannot await total military victory.

With that reservation, Mr Brian Faulkner has won another round. Westminster has accepted Stormont's arguments that no further political reform can be usefully attempted until the security situation has improved. But what happens then when, in the British Government's hopeful estimation, the IRA's intimidating grip on the Catholics has been loosened and the fears of the Protestants have been somewhat allayed?

This is what all the palaver in Whitehall has been about in the past three weeks. Ministers and departments were pressing to know where Mr Maudling and the Home Office were heading and how they intended to get there. Now, under the pressure from the Prime Minister, a clearer strategy has been evolved and it is this:

Once the emergency has been contained by military means the Northern Ireland Government will be expected to open a new era of peaceful coexistence. This would involve the two Irelands and the two communities within the two communities within Ireland. This is what the Prime Minister was hinting at in the Guildhall speech when he said that the unification of Ireland by democratic means was an “understandable” aim and should be a “legitimate” one.

But it goes a bit further than this. The concept is not unlike Willie Brandt's “two Germanies, one nation.” Subject to the existing constitutional guarantees Northern Ireland is to be seen as a sort of march land. The dictionary definition of a march is “a tract of debatable land separating two countries.” Reunification as a dramatic act of policy must be put aside; but reunification as the eventual result of a growing together process becomes the desirable objective.

Instead of being the obsessional area for a non-secularist politics it becomes the practical base. For in the meanwhile—and the meanwhile might be 20 or 25 years—Northern Ireland must be made a place worth living in. The development of common interests between the two Irelands, facilitated by common membership of the European Community, must become the basis of cooperation, if not coalition, between the two communities in Northern Ireland.

Two assumptions underpin this plan. One is that the Irish Republic will make a constructive contribution. Mr Jack Lynch is taken to be aware of the IRA menace to himself and ready to act against the extremists once their grip on the Catholics in the North has been weakened. And Mr Lynch is understood to accept that Ireland can be united only by consent and peaceful means.

The second assumption is that a sense of the future is more important than the constitutional devices which might be required to give it expression. The devices for sharing power are secondary to a shared political objective.

The implication of this Westminster thinking for Ulster Unionism is far reaching. Many will consider it alarmingly unrealistic. It challenges the assumptions on which Orange power has rested for the past century. The British Government would greatly prefer to see Mr Faulkner lead his party in the new direction. But if he can't the lead will have to come from elsewhere and that, almost certainly, means from Westminster, ruling directly.

The Ulster wheel has turned full circle. In 1921 Arthur Griffith, the Sinn Féin leader, accused Lloyd George of underpinning the Protestant ascendancy with British power. LG replied: “We are only behind them to this extent that we cannot allow civil war to take place at our doors. There is nothing we should like better than they should unite with you. Only to that extent are we behind them...”

THIS week's Supreme Soviet session, convened to pass the much-postponed five-year plan, is a chess move in the Kremlin power game—an attempt by the political leadership to check the military and their allies in the upper levels of the party hierarchy.

The struggle between the military and the political leadership has been a constant feature of the Kremlin scene since the death of Stalin. The first great leadership debate of the post-Stalin period was between Malenkov, the Prime Minister who wanted to spend more on consumer goods, and Khrushchev, who wanted to build up heavy industry in order to provide the weapons the military were demanding.

But the logic of the Kremlin power struggle follows its own perverse rules. Stalin himself sometimes took over the policies of his opponents. After he had defeated them, of course. Khrushchev, too, decided soon after he had defeated Malenkov that he wanted to spend more money on consumer goods and less on defence, and was duly overthrown in 1964 by a coalition of the military and their conservative allies in the politburo, led by Leonid Brezhnev. The new leadership which has resulted in the massive Soviet arms build-up we see today.

The rules of the power struggle, however, soon began asserting themselves. Brezhnev, having paid off his debt to the military, wanted to press on with the consumer programmes and the economic development plans which both Malenkov and Khrushchev had ultimately embraced. Once again, however, a coalition between the military and conservative politicians has been trying to balk the Kremlin top leadership with, so far, considerable success.

The clearest outline of the struggle between the two Kremlin factions is evident in the chequered history of the current five-year plan, which is supposed to embody the leadership decisions on the conflicting claims of the military and civilian sectors of the economy.

The plan was originally supposed to be ready by 1969, so that the party congress, due at the beginning of 1970, should be able to perform its ritual function of rubber-stamping the document approved by the politburo.

But 1969 came and went without any sign of the plan. What evidence there was suggested that the delay was due once again to arguments about the allocation of resources between the civilian and military sectors of the economy.

Articles in the military press stressed the vital role of heavy industry in maintaining the country's defences, expressed alarm at the “ever

Brezhnev—gambling with goodies

The Supreme Soviet meets tomorrow to pass the new Five Year Plan.

VICTOR ZORZA reports



Top left, Sholepin; bottom left, Sholest; right, Brezhnev, triumphant in Paris

growing” threat of world war, and called for the strengthening of Soviet military power.

Speeches by some of the political leaders, such as the Prime Minister, Kosygin, tended to play down the threat of war, to downgrade the importance of heavy industry, and to play up the prospects for an understanding with the West—and hence for more consumer goods. For most of the time Brezhnev took a middle position, sometimes veering slightly towards the military and sometimes towards the consumer lobby.

Yet the politburo as a whole was unable to make up its mind. No plan was published and no congress could therefore be held early in 1970, as was required by the party statute. After some time, and amid indications of further argument, Brezhnev formally announced that the congress would be held by the end of the year at the latest. But a few days after his announcement the decision was reversed at a hastily convened meeting of the party central committee.

The twenty-fourth congress, Brezhnev has announced, would not be held until the following year, in the spring of 1971. There were still further signs of conflict over the allocation of resources, this time with a bearing also on agriculture, the accumulation of capital for the modernisation of industry, on the space programme, and on many other claims in addition to those of the military and consumer sectors.

At the congress, Brezhnev made a clean break with the military, in almost the same way that Khrushchev had once used. Brezhnev now spoke of the “heroic” period of Soviet history, when the Soviet leaders had no choice but to sacrifice the allocations for consumer goods, so that the country's industrial base might be strengthened.

But times had changed, he said, and the Soviet Union now had the economic strength to invest more in the production of consumer goods.

Brezhnev explicitly condemned the anti-consumer lobby. In the past, he said, the country was prepared to accept “extreme privation,” to be content “with the bare necessities.” But what was natural in the past, “when other tasks stood in the forefront, is no longer acceptable under present conditions, comrades.” And if “some comrades” failed to take this into account, the party would hold them responsible for showing “a lack of understanding of the essence of its policy.”

Most congress speakers followed the Brezhnev line, but some members of the opposition refused to be intimidated. Their views were conveyed most succinctly by the party chief of Byelorussia, Pyotr Mashev, one of the leading conservatives in the party hierarchy.

He made clear his own preference for heavy and military industry over consumer goods by saying that the Soviet people were “willing to make any sacrifice to strengthen their armed forces. He thus implicitly rejected Brezhnev's claim that such sacrifices were no longer required, and explicitly condemned what he called “consumerism.”

Many of those at the congress would have known of his early association with Alexander Sholepin, the former police chief who had repeatedly challenged Brezhnev on behalf of the conservative military alliance.

Sholepin still remained the Politburo's youngest member, although he had lost his job as party secretary. Sholepin did not speak at the congress, but took advantage of the first major speech he made after it to emphasise the importance of heavy industry. So did Katushev, one of the younger party secretaries, whom Brezhnev had brought into the Kremlin when he was still a hard-liner himself. It began to look as if the younger members of the hierarchy were turning against their elders.

For some time before the congress there had been signs of resentment among the more conservative younger elements against the barrier to their advancement created by the older generation's virtual monopoly of Politburo seats. There had been thinly disguised calls for changes at the top from some of Sholepin's associates, who wrote articles about the need for the rejuvenation of party officials.

Just before the congress another conservative stalwart, Vitaly Sholest, the party boss of the Ukraine gave his Politburo colleagues a reminder of what was expected of them. Old party officials, he said, were “retiring to a well-earned rest,” and they were being replaced by younger officials who were “hotly and justifiably justifying the trust placed in them.”

But Brezhnev refused to take the hint. At the congress, he paid lip-service to the desirability of promoting young functionaries, but at the same time he stressed the need to make “maximum use” of the experience and knowledge of older officials. He was as good as his word. He brought in a new central committee with the highest average age since the war—57.8 years, compared with 56 years at the previous congress, 52 years at the last congress presided over by Khrushchev, and 49 years at the last congress presided over by Stalin.

The age structure of the Politburo provides even more striking evidence of the determination of the ruling oligarchy to perpetuate its power. The average age of the eleven Politburo members elected at the previous party congress, with Brezhnev at the head, was 57.5 years. By early this year, when they submitted themselves for re-election, their average age was 62.5 years—but not one of them was prepared to make room for younger people.

Instead of retiring, they co-opted four new members, most of them committed to Brezhnev, which brought the average Politburo age down to 60.6 years, still three years older than at the last congress. The Kremlin's rule by gerontocracy is resented by both the progressive and the conservative elements among the younger members of the leadership, but it is the conservatives who, in alliance with the military, seem to be in a better position to challenge the Brezhnev generation.

In spite of Brezhnev's outspoken “consumerism,” the increases in consumer welfare decreed by the twenty-fourth congress were comparatively modest. The emphasis was on words rather than on hard figures. But the draft of the five-year plan, passed by the congress in March, was to be elaborated in detail by August, and presented to the Supreme Soviet

by the beginning of September for final approval.

Once again, however, the official deadlines were ignored while Brezhnev fought to enforce his policy in the face of repeated challenges from the conservatives.

Of course it was correct to argue, said an authoritative pro-Brezhnev article in “Problems of Economics,” that production, consumption, and accumulation were equally necessary. But to say this, it maintained, gave no answer to the real question. Which of these three categories expressed “the highest aims of Socialist production?” There was no united view on this, it said, “among Soviet economists”—which meant, in the code always used in these disputes, “among Soviet politicians.”

There was, it firmly declared, “a certain contradiction” between the needs of consumption and accumulation, and this made itself felt “every time” the question of resource allocation arose.

The article thus came closer than the Soviet press has ever done to revealing the struggle over the source of allocations between the pro-consumer and anti-consumer factions.

The article was, in effect, a defence of Brezhnev against charges of “consumerism.” It argued in great detail in favour of the consumer policy he had supported so emphatically in the face of attacks by the military lobby—a policy, it maintained, which “has nothing in common with the so-called consumer approach to economics.” So much, it must have said, for Comrade Mashevov and his complaints about “consumerism.”

But in the Politburo the argument was not settled until the middle of October. Only then did an official announcement make it clear that the new five-year plan had been finally approved by the Politburo, and that the text would at last be submitted to the Supreme Soviet, when it meets for its long-delayed session on Wednesday.

The indications in the Soviet press suggest that Brezhnev and the consumer lobby have won this round—as Malenkov did briefly, before he was defeated by Khrushchev, and as Khrushchev did, for quite some time, before he himself was overthrown by Brezhnev. The marshals have never taken over the Kremlin, but every time, in alliance with the conservatives in the leadership, they have made sure that in the end the military got most of what they wanted.

Brezhnev's victory, even if

it is confirmed by the central committee and Supreme Soviet sessions, and even if it results in the further demonstration of Sholepin, could hardly be regarded as final. The amount of time it took Brezhnev to secure his five-year plan shows how strong the opposition to him was, and how easily the decision could yet go the other way, in the next round of the struggle.

The effect of any such reversal on SALT, the strategic arms limitation talks, and on the whole course of Soviet-American relations, would hardly be beneficial—though then, the conservatives think that Brezhnev has already gone too far in his dealings with the United States.

“It would be naive to think,” said a recent article aimed at the conservatives by the party journal “Kommunist” that in contemporary conditions one can simply refuse to have any dealings with the United States.”

But Brezhnev's opponents do not object to “any” dealings, only to those which constitute, in their view, unwarranted concessions to the United States on such issues as SALT. As “Kommunist” said in a further article last month, those “woebegone critics” who claimed that the Soviet Union would have to make “unilateral concessions” to the West had been proved wrong.

Ostensibly, “Kommunist” was replying to foreign critics of Brezhnev's policy—but the ambiguous wording also fitted Brezhnev's domestic critics, no doubt deliberately, as is often the case in veiled Soviet leadership debates.

The evidence available between the lines in the Soviet press suggests that the Soviet marshals are trying, in collaboration with their allies in the political leadership, to get the Kremlin to adopt the military view of the world, on such matters as foreign and arms policies in general, and on SALT in particular. In this they would not differ greatly from the professionals in the Pentagon, and they would seek to press their views with much the same arguments about national security and patriotism.

The Soviet marshals' chances of winning the argument are probably no less than the chances of those who are pressing similar arguments about SALT on the White House.

The only difference is that President Nixon is safe until the next election, while Brezhnev could be removed whenever the hard-liners in the party leadership form an effective alliance with the military, as they did against the only two other leaders who have reached the top since the death of Stalin.

© 1971 Victor Zorza.

Mead in the mud

MALCOLM DEAN, New York, Sunday



Margaret Mead

organisation set up by government officials and what the minutes of the meeting called the “SS Community” (Social Scientists).

Dr Wolf, who was an obvious man for the students to turn to as a founder of the anti-war movement, wrote to four of the anthropologists named in the files, asking for clarification. But by then the students had already published the names of the anthropologists who felt themselves maligned by the disclosures and were not ready to cooperate.

In May of last year, the Ethics Committee met in Chicago and announced that in Thailand “anthropologists are being used in large programmes of counter-insurgency.... These programmes comprise efforts at the manipulation of people on a grand scale, and involve a straightforward anthropological research with overt and covert counter-insurgency.”

This resulted in a reprinting of the Ethics Committee's letter to the executive council of the anthropologists, which felt the committee had exceeded its mandate. This in turn led to the resignation of Dr Wolf. The row was then taken up in the columns of the “New York Review of Books.”

Just before last year's annual meeting Dr Wolf wrote a long background piece in the magazine and forecast that there would be “an accelerating effort to centralise power and control resources on a global scale by the US Government. As the Thailand papers show the Government is less interested in the economic, social, or political causes of discontent than in techniques of neutralising individual or collective groups.”

Last year's meeting appointed Dr Mead and two other anthropologists to study the allegations in depth. This weekend, after studying 6,000 pages of evidence, Dr Mead returned to the annual meeting with a report which found no American anthropologists had contravened the ethical principles of the association in Thailand.

Their report said that although several projects had been funded under the label of counter-insurgency “it was only a label which anthropologists used knowing it was the only way to obtain funds.

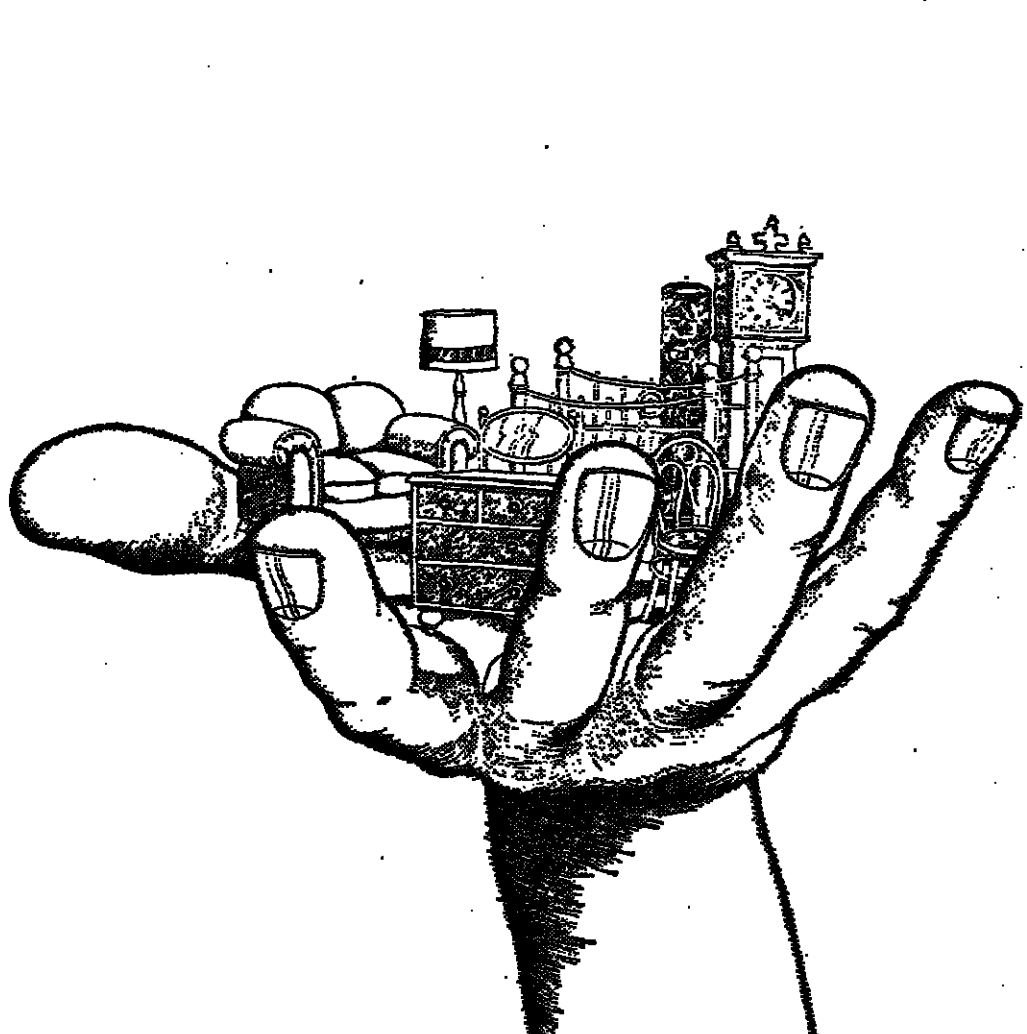
In earlier times it would have been handed out under the general title of “mental health” or “communication.” “To attack a rural health research worker because his project is funded as counter-insurgency is to miss this fundamental point.”

Dr Wolf, who in a hall of long hair and beard looked more like an accountant than a radical anthropologist with his business suit and neat haircut, walked to the microphone to read out an extract from one of the research projects in Thailand. What he wanted to know was Dr Mead's assessment of a research project in Thailand designed to help “low altitude visual searches for individual human targets.”

Dr Mead's reply was that no one had seen the report, only a description of the report. She did not deny that the Thailand project was being carried out in Thailand, but all she was asserting was that her committee had not been given any proof. She was hissed.

The meeting remained in a sceptical mood. It found Marvin Harris, an anthropological colleague of Dr Mead's at Columbia University, more in tune with its feeling. He described Dr Mead's report as “false dialectics—an act of sophistry.”

What was agreed, by Dr Mead and Dr Wolf, was the need to protect data so that it could not be used by those planning amphibious bombing or other atrocities. Dr Mead's report suggested field workers should change the names of people and places and delay publication of some reports for up to five years.



PICKFORDS STORE YOUR HOME NEAR YOUR HOUSE

Pickfords will carefully store anything for you, wherever you want, because Pickfords have warehouse facilities all over the country. So there'll be a Pickfords warehouse close to your new home. And the men who work in the Pickfords warehouses have a reputation for knowing about furniture storage. And if you want to store your precious piano, Pickfords even have special piano rooms.

As Pickfords has a network of warehouses, when you're moving from one area to another you don't have to store your furniture back where you've come from. Pickfords will store things for you at the nearest local Pickfords branch to your new home if you wish. When you're ready just a phone call will mean that quickly and economically Pickfords can move you in.

PICKFORDS
GENTLE GIANT FOR REMOVALS
Look in the telephone directory or Yellow Pages and give your local Pickfords branch a ring.

John Ezard on the NUS conference

Kid stakes



School kids Action rally at Hyde Park, yesterday

PUPILS' POWER—the day when a schoolboy tells his headmaster: “I'll have to ring my union about this detention”—leapt suddenly nearer at the weekend. To the concern of teachers, the National Union of Students voted overwhelmingly to help launch an independent “democratic schools organisation” which is expected to hold its first national conference by as soon as next June.

Jeff Staniford, the NUS executive member who piloted the motion through, said after the debate that the new union would tackle two immediate issues: democracy, “getting pupils on school councils,” and discipline—“getting rid of the kind of situation where a head can send 14- to 17-year-olds home because their hair is below shoulder length.” He said the organisation could have enormous effects on schools particularly in restricting the power of the heads.

The motion requires the NUS to get the organisation started by next summer, the end of the academic year. Before then it is instructed to appoint a head officer “mainly responsible for schools” and to hold a series of area conferences to draw together and increase the at

present scattered school activists, including the battered remnants of the Schools Action Union. Conference speakers accused headmasters of “repressing” SAU members.

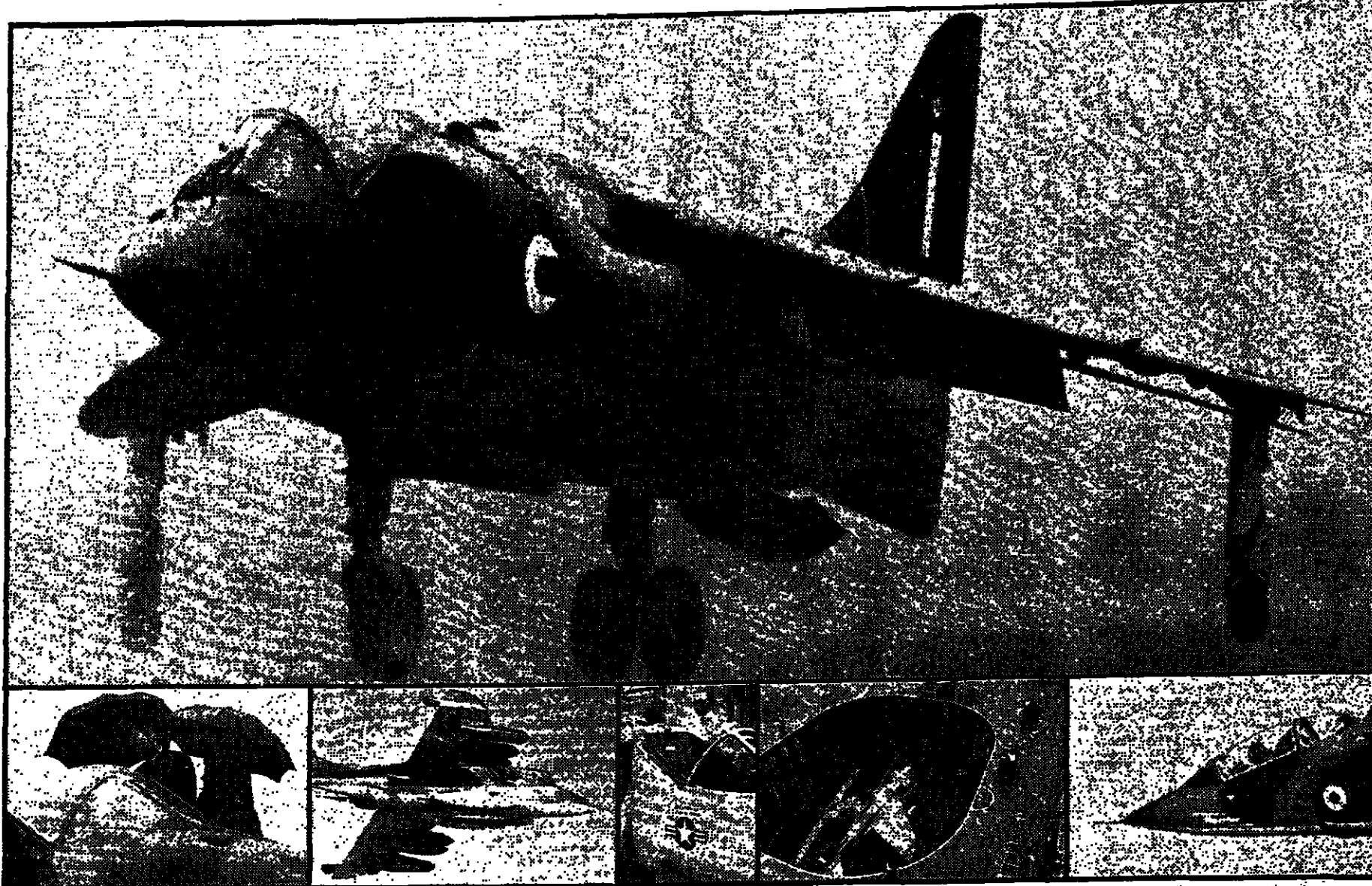
Mr Edward Britton, the National Union of Teachers' general secretary greeted the move with some sympathy but added “No teacher can be happy at this development, if he thinks this organisation will get into the hands of extremists.”

Before ulcers start twitching in the staff rooms there must be several reservations about the scheme. The NUS does not intend except, in a direct emergency, to spend money on the School Union beyond ploughing back some of the £2,000 a year profit it makes on subscriptions from its 12,000 existing school associate members. These at present join the NUS chiefly for access to its cheap travel services.

Secondly the NUS is barred—by the anxiety of delegates not to become the “schools” Mrs Thatcher—from doing the donkey work of collecting subscriptions and helping administer and account the new union. Jeff Staniford said, “Should school students ask us for this sort of help we might be able

Taking off for profit

David Fairhall on the Harrier — Britain's most controversial, most brilliant and now, possibly, most successful plane. A superb toy that may become a prop of America's navy.



HARRIER: left to right—cockpit view; US Marine Corps model with 3,000lb bomb load; production line; carrier lift; and the two-seater version

ONLY a few years ago a vertical take-off aircraft called the Kestrel was on the brink of cancellation because many people in Whitehall regarded it as no more than a brilliant experimental toy. A few months ago its successor, the Harrier, became the first operational military aircraft in the United States Government has purchased abroad since the First World War. And today, Hawker Siddeley is in a strong position to follow that order—from the US Marines—with one from the US Navy for operation from a proposed new class of Sea Control Ship or mini-carrier.

Long after I first saw one of these extraordinary aircraft bound into the sky, it still seems most miraculous that what from a distance looks like just another swept-wing military aircraft should be capable, simply by swivelling its four exhaust nozzles, of hovering motionless in mid-air. For a professional pilot, trained to worry about airspeed as a sailor does about searoom, it must be an eerie experience.

This is why, I think, military men have reacted to the Harrier with such a curious mixture of wild enthusiasm and cautious scepticism. It challenges almost every established principle of aircraft operation—payload/range calculations, airfield design, the minimum size and speed of aircraft carriers, and so on. It is one of those great technical achievements which sometimes make a weapons system seem intellectually exciting even if it is also a sad waste of human resources.

Perhaps the Harrier's biggest obstacles in winning acceptance—as it now has done from the RAF, the US Marines, and influential opinion in the Royal Navy and the US Navy—have

been a failure to anticipate the growth potential of its engine, and a tendency to ignore the benefits a vertical take-off aircraft can derive from a few hundred-foot roll when it is available.

The Harrier's single "vectored thrust" engine has to be able to lift the entire weight of airframe and pilot straight off the ground, without any help from its wings, before it can space any effort to carry extra fuel or weapons. So when Hawker Siddeley demonstrated the original version of the aeroplane to civil servants down from Whitehall or visiting foreign defence attachés, it had to admit that for all its spectacular manoeuvres, it was hardly a practical military proposition. Its radius of action, now measured in hundreds of miles, was summed up in those days by the typically American comment: "Once round the airfield armed with a peashooter."

More thrust

But good jet engines tend to grow until they are scarcely recognisable, and so it has been with the Pegasus, built for the Harrier by the Bristol Engine division of Rolls-Royce. The RAF's original operational requirement for the P127, as it was then known, was written around an engine that would be developed up to 13,000lb of thrust. The squadrons now operating in Britain and Germany have Harriers fitted with Pegasus 10 engines of more than 20,000lb thrust. The US Marines are getting a standard export version with the 21,500lb Pegasus 11 engine, and a Pegasus 15 of 24,500lb thrust is under development. What is more, Rolls-Royce engineers claim that there is no theoretical reason why the thrust should not go on increasing to about 30,000, roughly twice the original power.

Thrust increases which can be devoted almost entirely to carrying more fuel and weapons transform the aircraft's performance. This is one reason why it was possible for the Kestrel to be rejected by the American Services (represented by the US Air Force, Army and Navy) after a thorough evaluation in 1965-6, only to be adopted with tremendous enthusiasm by the Marines a few years later. The Harrier has been fitted to carry nearly 6,000lb of bombs, rockets, guns or missiles, and has flown with an 8,000lb warload.

The Marines have already formed their first Harrier squadron and are expected to order a total of 114. The plan is to use the aircraft for close support of amphibious assault operations, flying either from the big American assault ships or from makeshift bases ashore. The Marine Corps regards the Harrier as a logical successor to the armed helicopter which it also pioneered in this and other roles—and refuses to make direct range/payload comparisons with aircraft which are tied to well-established land bases which may be hundreds of miles away.

But of course a naval attack carrier can provide a mobile airfield from which big aircraft like the American Phantom or the British Buccaneer can be flown over long ranges with a large warload. So as long as the US Navy and the Royal Navy could count on deploying a reasonable number of carriers, therefore, interest in the Harrier was bound to be lukewarm.

In Britain, the turning point came when the former Labour Government decided that it could not afford to buy any new carriers and that the existing ones might as well be scrapped as soon as we pulled out of Singapore. This policy was partially reversed by

the Conservative Government, which decided to keep Ark Royal in commission for a few more years. But in the meantime everyone had been reminded—by the Russian Styx cruise missiles which sank the Israeli destroyer Eilat off Port Said—that the Royal Navy was abandoning its integral air support without even the limited compensation of long-range anti-ship missiles enjoyed by the Soviet Navy.

As a result, the Royal Navy is now considering the operation of Harriers from a new class of flat topped 19,000-ton ships euphemistically known as "through-deck cruisers" and has already ordered the French Exocet surface-to-surface missile off the shelf. The new cruisers would in any case carry Sea King anti-submarine helicopters and would act as command centres. If the typical attempt to put too many eggs in one basket does not price them out of the defence budget, the first should soon be ordered for service in the late 1970s.

Short runs

In some superficial ways, the concept resembles that of the Russian helicopter-cruisers Moskva and Leningrad. But from the point of view of the Harrier's operation the British design's long deck, running from one end of the ship to the other, is essentially different to the Russian vessels' much shorter deck, interrupted amidships by a tall superstructure. If a vertical take-off aircraft can in fact take advantage of only a short run, to get some lift from its wings, it can carry a substantially greater payload. But there is a minimum length of deck, probably about 400 feet, which is useful in this way, and the Moskva class does not have it. The long awaited Russian equivalent of Harrier, derived from the crude prototype displayed at the Domodedovo

air show in 1967, would be much more effective flying from a flat topped ship, even if Soviet naval theorists who have so often scorned the aircraft carrier insisted—like their British counterparts—on still calling it a cruiser.

The American situation is rather different. The US Navy has a large fleet of attack carriers and helicopter ships, some of which still have a long operational life ahead of them. But even the Americans balk at the prospect of spending perhaps \$300 millions on the construction of a new nuclear powered vessel. The great bulk of the modern attack carrier has something of the dinosaur about it, and Admiral Zumwalt, Chief of Naval Operations, has conceived the idea of a fleet of much smaller ships, probably of no more than about 10,000 tons displacement, which would be complementary to their big sisters.

Their fighting ability, in terms of speed, aircraft number and radar equipment would be deliberately limited so as to be able to buy perhaps seven for the price of one nuclear powered giant.

The two principle types of aircraft around which this Sea Control Ship has so far been conceived are the Sea King anti-submarine helicopter and the Harrier. The US Navy will probably borrow some of the US Marines' aircraft next year for further evaluation aboard one of its existing helicopter ships. And if the British aircraft is not chosen, albeit after further development, the American aircraft industry will take many years to produce anything better. It has tried before and failed.

The question is whether the Harrier's performance has or will reach the minimum that is acceptable in a naval environment—where, for example, the ability to loiter on reconnaissance missions is particularly valuable. The

assumption is that the American admirals will at least demand the Pegasus 15 engine, which would then be available to the Royal Navy.

The British Government has found enough money to develop the new engine to the stage of bench testing, but beyond that its future is in doubt (as is the future of nearly every new aircraft project while Concorde and the Rolls-Royce RB 211 continue to swallow millions of pounds a week). To make things more difficult, the Pegasus 15's fan is a few inches bigger than the Pegasus 11's, so the Harrier's fuselage will have to be slightly enlarged to make room for it.

Agreements

Hawker Siddeley and Rolls-Royce have signed licence agreements with McDonnell Douglas and Pratt & Whitney respectively so as to provide for collaborative development or production, and to meet Congressional fears about being dependent on a foreign supplier. But they would naturally be dismayed to see collaboration replaced by American domination because the British Government failed to contribute a reasonable share of the development funding. In that case Whitehall would almost certainly find itself in a few years' time buying the Harrier back from McDonnell Douglas under a new name, along with the Japanese, Italian, Indian and other small navies which have shown interest in it.

The US Navy could decide to wait for a more advanced, supersonic aeroplane, although the requirement it published last week sounded altogether too urgent for that. Zumwalt is more likely to test his sea-control concept with the hardware that is readily available and then move on to a more ambitious aircraft. The Royal Navy would do well to follow his example.

Crude division

Sir—Judy Hillman, in her article on the Housing Bill pointed out that the privately rented furnished accommodation are still to be excluded from the rent allowances scheme. The Government's plea of legal and administrative difficulties seems to be partly based on the premise that the majority of the 500,000 tenants estimated to be in this category are "transients." Though there might be some truth in this nationally, it certainly hardly applies to families in the inner areas of our largest cities. Half the families coming to us for help are from this sector. We have found by analysing our records for August and September that 98 per cent of the families from furnished tenancies had been at the same address for at least two years, 46 per cent had been in the same borough and 70 per cent

in London for the same period. Report after report has shown that the furnished rented sector in the housing stress areas provides the worst housing for the poorest part of our society—those people in greatest need of help. They have accepted furnished lettings not from choice, but because they have no alternative. In his report on London homelessness, Professor Greve found that over half the families applying for local authority temporary accommodation came from furnished accommodation. These are the people at the bottom of the housing pile and we can only hope that the Government will remedy their appalling situation by separate legislation if necessary.

C. Miles Davies,
Research Officer,
Shelter Housing Aid Centre,
189a Old Brompton Road,
London SW5.

Free enterprise radio

Sir—Mr Weiss may be concerned that the abuses of American Commercial Radio will be extended to the UK (November 16). But the further development of BBC radio is no answer to the establishment of a more balanced radio pattern here. Mr Weiss like so many people in this country confuses programming with structure.

The present organisation or structure of our public service radio and for that matter TV is still too highly centralised. Even BBC Local Radio appears to be subjected to the directives of London based sovereignty. Recruitment, programme output, and general decision making should be far more diversified.

A broadcasting system which is financed by public levy should have a far more federated structure, or alternatively there should be a number of autonomous units operating in the main conurbations.

A. Hillson,
Heald Green,
Cheddle, Cheshire.

Sir—Mr Weiss (November 16) says that the key some of the theory on which commercial radio is founded is the

creation of a market for goods. In this context the creation of a market means a programme to which people will want to listen. You must have a cynical view of people in general if you think they only want to listen to rubbish. We don't take that view. Furthermore, commercial broadcasters will be contracted to a public authority which is unlikely to take that view.

The advertising, says Mr Weiss, may be insane. At the same time he says that such advertising has cowed the American public into buying up a free-enterprise system. I suggest that our advertisers are hardly likely to "cow" our public by broadcasting inanities.

The independent local broadcasting system now proposed is one that will not only be required to take note of the public interest, but is also a system that will coexist with non-commercial services that are well established. It will be up to those of us who think we can offer an alternative to see that it works.—Yours faithfully,

Graham Bins,
Chief Executive,
Rediffusion Radio
Holdings Ltd,
Lower Regent Street,
London SW 1.

LETTERS to the Editor

Cinderella classes

Sir—I am an evening teacher at one of some 30 colleges in the London area recognised by the Institute of Bankers as providing tuition for the Institute's Banking Diploma examinations. I teach Finance of Foreign Trade and Foreign Exchange, one of the five subjects of Part II of the diploma. Last week—a third of the way through the course—evening classes at my college in four of the five subjects were summarily terminated. The fifth surviving as a hybrid with students from another discipline. Last session—two months before the end of the course—Part II banking classes were abruptly closed down in similar fashion by the college, but reinstated after I had made a strong protest in various quarters.

This time, I am told that the principal had no alternative as a result of the 1966 Pilkington Report, on the size of classes in technical colleges (Report of the Committee on Technical College Resources) in response to ILEA directives based on Governmental policy administered by the Department of Education and Science. The policy may indeed be as rigid as that, but I have a tiny doubt. I understand that the Pilkington recommendation that evening classes should have a minimum of 15 students (quoted to me by the college but more flexible in the report) had a sound practical reason—to prevent the purchase of expensive capital equipment for the use of a handful of students. This suggests that even under Pilkington there may be some scope for differentiation between, say, engineering classes

and banking classes, since the latter is a blackboard and chalk.

My class had seven students with an average attendance of five, and I should think some 30 students would be affected by the four closures I have mentioned. It would be surprising if this situation had not occurred in other colleges. In theory students can continue their studies at other colleges, but the syllabus of my own subject—Finance of Foreign Trade—is wide, specialised and something of a conglomerate.

Evening teachers, almost always practising bankers, clothe the bare bones of theory in the mantle of experience. Different teachers by no means take the different parts of the extensive syllabus in the same sequence, so that transfer for a student is always a lottery, at worst a severe check to progress.

Three of my students are taking both Finance of Foreign Trade and Practice of Banking—the last two subjects in the Banking Diploma and by common consent a stiff study programme for any evening student under optimum conditions. Progress in their jobs may well depend on examination success. If (as I understand) the Part II Banking Diploma subjects are examined at around pass degree level, the disruption to serious students who have "out in years of evening work to reach this stage is surely intolerable.

It would be interesting to know the views of other teachers in banking and allied subjects on this problem of being a Cinderella through geography—Part II Banking Diploma classes outside Central London and a few provincial cities have always been small. My own alter-

nate interim conclusions are that either Pilkington is wrong and not merely the rates of

in an important area or educational institutions are putting ratios and percentages before people.—Yours sincerely,

L. A. Jackson,
Heathside Lane,
Hindhead,
Surrey.

Italy's problems

Sir—Seldom does the Guardian reach such heights of complacency as in the publication of the five-page article on Italian industry (November 15). Anyone who is likely to travel to Italy for a period of time would soon become aware of the superficiality of the articles, and would quickly realise that there is more to solving the problems of Italian industry than "Great Britain joining the EEC," "attracting more foreign investment," or "going into the American domestic market."

As in most of the countries of Western Europe, the fundamental problem of industry is one which concerns people and is perhaps more acutely so in Italy, where the classic rift between the Right and the Left is everwidening, placing ever larger sections of the population in the ranks of those seeking "socialism."

Mention was scarcely made of the industrial disputes which have been raging like open war by the working class against the entrepreneur (and the Government for that matter) over the past 25 years and more seriously over the past decade. Neither was the point made at all that industrial disputes are today characterised by fundamentally different goals sought by the workers, which involve

the basic conditions of working

and not merely the rates of reward.

Demands such as for the abolition of piece-work, the abolition of labour classification and the demand for a more "human" work rate have all existed side by side with the basic demand for "more money" in all the industrial disputes of the large industrial conurbations over the past few years. Nor was mention made of the widespread use of factory occupation—a weapon in those disputes. Such "occupation" is for the Italian man-in-the-street no longer a novelty as it is in Britain, and there are literally tens of factories occupied today (at least six were occupied in Rome alone at the end of this summer).

Nor was mention made of the fact that over 100 men have been killed in clashes with the police during industrial and agricultural disputes since the end of the war. Nor was mention made of the two million unemployed or of the 500,000 Italians who have had to leave Italy in search of employment in foreign countries, because there just wasn't any work for them in their own country—turning for perhaps ten days a year to visit their wives and children.

These are the real problems of Italian industry and as such are of a political nature. Anyone who believes that Italian industry can be made to recover using economic methods is just deluding himself. And this sort of delusion we can well do without in a serious newspaper.—Yours etc.

Leonard L. Perkins,
60 Grove Avenue,
Moseley, Birmingham 13.

Doctors and stress

Sir—The implications of the proposal to set up an Environmental Health Service as a second arm to the NHS are deeper than Anthony Tucker allows (November 13). My experience during the past four years of various ailments which refused to yield to treatment prescribed by my family physician and went depending on how pressed I was to pay bills, whether I was over-stretched in my work or the sort of week I had with my wife and children, has strengthened my long-held conviction of the medical profession's inadequacy to meet many of the problems which people bring to the doctor's surgery.

This is not to say that doctors should be able to solve all these. But it's a fact that today almost half of the family physician's practice revolves around the difficulties people have, not as a result of overt physical disease, but as a result of anxiety and stress reaction, or poor environment and loss of spirit, or simply of the way we now live our lives. Surgery may have made astonishing mechanical advances since the war, but sickness is, in some ways, more mysterious than ever.

The trouble is that most of the emphasis in medical education is on treatment of physical disease, rather than on psychological or environmental approaches to general practice, and so the GP is left without surgery, the socio-medical knowledge and skills he needs to cope with the problems in these ambiguous other areas. The result is that patients are left by trial giving patients good continuing care and helping them to discover, and change, the wasted because they are not fully adapted to the field of family medicine.

As Rene Dubos points out, the question whether the many different forms of "fringe medicine" are sham or of real merit is basically irrelevant. What is important is that their present popularity points to the need for a kind of medical action not yet embraced by medical science. It would be foolish to romanticise the "unscientific" nostrums of correct diet, satisfaction in work, plenty of exercise, natural living, airs and places, but we ought to recognise that

the goal of medical practice is not simply to maximise the average life span of a population—people can be kept alive as vegetables for years, but to foster the quality of life.

That is why the GP must not only be well versed in the physical disease entities, but must also be aware of all the numerous social, interpersonal, and political factors that cause "disease" in people, at whatever puts them at "odds" with their environment. The unhappy fact is that modern medicine, like architecture and urban planning, has been a "victim" of high technology. Therefore, the GP's concept of continuing medical care of the "whole man" is being lost to the specialised, "scientific" impersonal approach now dominating the process of continuing medical care. A philosophy, and a profession, will be dead: the humanity of it will disappear.

The immediate need is for a radical reassessment of the assumption on what medical training is based. Nobody wants the return of the general "doc" with his horse and buggy and battered black bag: he had little more to offer than kind words and compassion. But these, when the chips were down, he gave. What survives of them in the research laboratories and the departments of spectacular surgery?

Somehow, in spite of the strain on NHS resources, the GPs of the future must be enabled to spend more time and energy on giving patients good continuing care and helping them to discover, and change, the many environmental causes of "disease." If public debate about an Environmental Health Service can make clear the necessity of this, so much the better. But in the long run, the deepest implication could be that examination of the economic and political bases on which modern industrial society is organised has now become an urgent matter, not only of personal integrity and social responsibility, but of physical and mental health, and ultimately of sanity and survival.

Roger Barnard,
144 Fellows Road,
London NW 3.

هكركس القليل



Kowloon—picture by Eric Wadsworth

Colony of contrasts by JOHN GITTINGS

FROM Aden, the Seychelles, and the Fiji Islands they have come, the last British colonialists in existence, to run the affairs of the Crown Colony of Hong Kong, cheek by jowl with revolutionary China. This juxtaposition produces a contrast so blinding that the human eye, in self-protection usually manages to avoid it. The Chinese themselves have in the past had good reasons for not making too much of it.

To the Chinese, Hong Kong is regarded as being under the temporary but unchallenged control of the "British authorities." Those authorities however, refer to themselves as "Government"—never as "the Government." Somehow the omission of that definite article strengthens the self-assurance with which the foreign expatriate, enjoying an income 10 times

that of the average resident Chinese, speaks of his colonial administration.

The only government body with elected members in Hong Kong is the Urban Council, 16 of whose members are "appointed," while the remaining 10 are indeed elected by secret vote. In this year's elections only 10,047 votes were cast, and financial and residential qualifications limit the franchise to less than 10 per cent of the adult population. In any case, "Urban" powers are limited to a variety of social services, some less important than others, which range from refuse collection to the Hong Kong Herbarium.

It is one of those classic, almost clichéd, situations, where anyone who tries to describe it accurately sounds as if he is just presenting a stereotype. Colourful Hong-

kong is also the place where there is no minimum wage, where child labour (prohibited only in industry) is widely used, and where there is no legal limit on the number of hours worked by male adults. Education is neither universal nor compulsory and it is only this year that it has begun to be provided free, and then only in the colony's primary schools.

Public assistance for the poor and needy is pitifully inadequate, with a maximum monthly payment per person on the roll of the Social Welfare Department of HK\$70 (under \$5). There is no national health service and the main burden of welfare work and relief is borne by private charities. There is no system either of social insurance, which is regarded by "Government" as premature and unrealistic.

In the deep canyons of concrete and glass, formed by the service alleys at the back of the super-modern skyscrapers in Hong Kong's Central District, swept by gales of hot air from the exit vents of the airconditioning systems, beggars pick over the refuse for scraps. These visual contrasts are also stereotyped but equally true. The old lady who sleeps on newspaper at the foot of Battery Walk, right opposite the Ionic facade of the First National City Bank, might be suspected of hammering it up if she did not do it every night.

Those who defend this classic laissez-faire economy of Hong Kong point to the housing of refugees, the relatively high (by Asian standards) per capita income, the need for cheap labour so as not to discourage further in-

vestment, and the "Chinese mentality" which is supposed to explain such diverse phenomena as the corruption in the police force and the fire hazards in the factories. But the clinching argument is that Peking itself would be horrified at any thought of democratic reforms in Hong Kong, which might produce some bourgeois alternative to the eventual Communist takeover.

The usual explanation given for China's tolerance of what Khrushchev, teasing the Chinese for their inaction, once wickedly called this "colonial sore," is Hong Kong's value as a source of foreign exchange. Thus the Communist trading banks in Hong Kong channelled in 1970 a total of \$270 millions to China, or more than 40 per cent of China's annual foreign exchange earnings. However, as China's trade and diplomatic relations expand, the banking facilities of Hong Kong may become a convenience rather than a necessity, and it is unlikely that this was ever the full reason.

Three more pressing reasons should be added. First, Hong Kong is only one element in the relationship, which the Chinese have always seen as at least potentially capable of improvement, between Britain and China. Second, in its dealings with other neighbours whose common frontiers with China were imposed by the "unequal treaties" of the last century, Peking has always accepted those treaties as the basis for a working arrangement to preserve the status quo (except when the actual terms of the treaty or customary frontier line are in dispute, as in the cases of the Indian and Soviet borders).

There is no precedent in Chinese behaviour for seeking to overthrow the 1898 Treaty, under which the colony's New Territories on the mainland facing Hong Kong Island are leased, until it expires in 1997. (The island itself and the Kowloon tip of the mainland peninsula are technically British for ever, but no one expects them to survive after the expiry of the lease.)

Third, China appears to regard the Hong Kong issue as essentially secondary to that of Taiwan, and if anywhere requires to be "liberated" first, it is that delinquent Chinese province. The events of the Cultural Revolution, in which Hong Kong was so severely shaken by the "disturbances" as they were politely called, did not indicate a change in Chinese policy. The course of the Cultural Revolution in China itself encouraged (and perhaps demanded) a show of patriotic wrath in Hong Kong. The imprisonment or detention of many Chinese, some in a highly arbitrary way, by the Hong Kong authorities, and that of Anthony Grey, in Peking, tied an awkward knot which took two years of diplomacy to unravel, but it did not affect the status of Hong Kong.

But some candid observers of the "disturbances" believe that if these had been geared to local issues rather than simply to the Red Book, they would have won considerable support from the Hong Kong Chinese. Since the Cultural Revolution, popular protest in Hong Kong has begun to make itself felt on issues such as police corruption and language reform (English is still the only official language in the law courts) although the numbers involved are small and mainly students.

新
星

A Guardian HONGKONG special report

Action Hong Kong



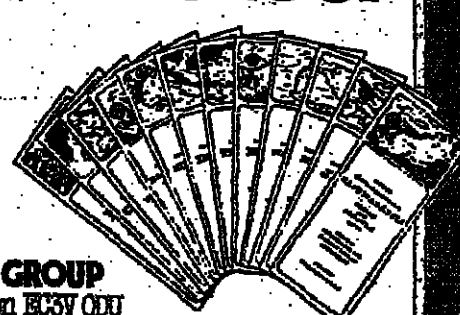
Biggest boom in the smallest area.
Find out about your opportunities
with the Hongkong Bank Group.

Hong Kong offers the most astonishing economic story in the world. A minute colony with no raw materials to speak of, an obvious shortage of land, and a population that has more than doubled in the last twenty years. Yet their budgets have been in surplus for most of the last decade. Per capita income is third only to Japan in Asia.

Industrialisation is just over 20 years old and is expanding rapidly. The opportunities for foreign companies are there. By the end of 1970 there were 696 foreign companies registered in Hong Kong. Have you looked at your company's prospects

in the Colony? The Hongkong Bank Group can offer the authoritative and expert advice that you will need in this and 35 other countries. A 16 page booklet has been prepared, summarising the economic conditions in Hong Kong. Send for a free copy now—and be briefed by the experts.

THE
HONGKONG
BANK GROUP



THE HONGKONG BANK GROUP
9 Gracechurch Street, London EC3N 0DU

We're moving Hong Kong 7,000 miles closer to London.

For the first time TV programmes will now be sent straight from Hong Kong to Europe.

The fastest way to look round the world is by space TV. Pictures bounced around the globe in continent-straddling strides by space satellite, 22,300 miles up.



But until now all space communications traffic from Hong Kong has been on a one-way street. Headed East, from earth station Hong Kong I. This meant America got the picture first. Space communications bound for Europe had to be routed through North American transmission facilities—a 13,000-mile journey. There wasn't always enough room, which meant queuing up. And the extra distance cost more, too.



Earth station Hong Kong II, looking Westward, with much greater capacity than Eastward-facing Hong Kong I. Much more room for telephone calls, too.

Now we've opened earth station Hong Kong II. Facing West. Which brings East and West about 7,000 miles closer. To be exact we've shrunk the visual distance between London and Hong Kong by 6,775 miles.

This gives Hong Kong immediate space communications links with Britain, Germany, Indonesia and Singapore. By the end of the year Bahrain and Malaysia will be added to the network. Subsequently Ceylon, India, Italy and Pakistan will be hooked up.



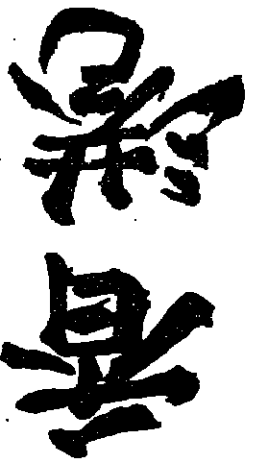
Business telex messages will go direct by satellite, too. It's enabled us to reduce the basic Hong Kong—United Kingdom rate by 9%.

Bringing people together is our business. We do it by television, telephone, telex and telegrams—as the largest single operator of telecommunications systems in the world. 100 years ago we began crossing the seven seas by cable. Now our space communications skip over them by satellite.

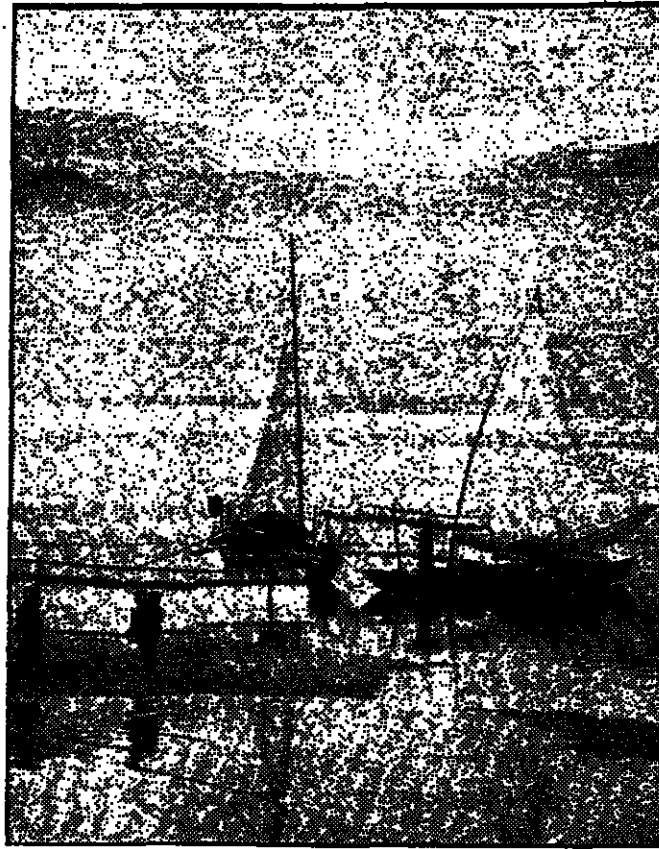
When you've got to be in two places at once, you need the Big Link. Cable and Wireless.

THE
BIG
LINK

CABLE AND WIRELESS
100 years of pioneering
in telecommunications.
London: Mercury House,
Theobalds Road, London WC1X 8PX.
Hong Kong: Cable and Wireless Limited,
Mercury House, 3 Connaught Road Central,
Hong Kong.



Hongkong contrasts—right, the floating population of Aberdeen, and far right, early morning at Shatin in the New Territories.



Destination Hongkong

by ADRIENNE KEITH COHEN

"In some happy future time," wrote the "South China Morning Post," "Hongkong will possess a tourist bureau and will receive the attention which its wonderful natural beauty deserves." That was on February 11, 1908, and it was to be nearly 50 years before this hope was fulfilled. Major Harry Stanley, then with the RAC in London, was the man chosen to get the idea off the ground—and when he retired earlier this year as director of the Hongkong Tourist Association he had seen the number of tourists increase from 47,000 in 1957 to just short of a million people spending £235 millions in 1970.

This growth has not been just a question of new hotels and bigger and brighter tourist attractions but one of cleaning up the colony. Back in 1957 its reputation was bad, particularly in the United States, even then the biggest market. Dope, prostitution, shoddy goods, all contributed to the image of a cheap and nasty place, best avoided by the gentler traveller.

As a first step in establishing confidence, Major Stanley, who had been a member of the Hongkong Tourist Association since 1908, persuaded carriers, hotels, and travel agents to become members of his newly formed association. Shops, or anyone interested in the overall development of tourism, were given associate membership. Direct participation by the people who had most to gain—or lose—seemed to him an obvious first step.

It proved to be a stout root from which has flowered one of the most highly efficient tourist organisations in the world. You are, for instance, processed through Kai Tak International Airport in less than 15 minutes—Customs, Immigration, baggage collection—and emerge

opposite a desk that provides instant hotel reservations. The splendid new ocean terminal is similarly efficient. Whereas in 1957 there were perhaps 500 hotel rooms suitable for tourists, there are now 8,500 of vastly superior quality. By the end of 1973 this number will have risen to 13,500. Hotel service is exceptionally good. Throughout the colony you can eat extremely well in a dozen or more different languages—more different languages than you can find in any other place. Local tour operators provide good excursions at reasonable prices.

Undoubtedly prices have risen in Hongkong in recent years. But Major Stanley insists, so has the standard of living everywhere—and you can still bargain if you have the time to look around before you buy.

It is, perhaps, a weakness in the otherwise compelling tourist propaganda that the Hongkong Tourist Association puts out that most people still think of the colony in terms of duty-free shopping, clinging to the commercial centres of Hongkong Island and Kowloon, and largely ignoring these "natural beauties" of which the "South China Morning Post" spoke in 1908.

The scene has changed since then to the extent of towering skyscrapers clinging to every ledge of the precipitous sides of Hongkong Island and the great industrial complex backing on to Kowloon. But go beyond these contemporary trappings and you can still discover a biblical world of ox-drawn ploughs and walled settlements, of duck and fish farms and floating villages, and islands of scattered villages built on stilts, and isolated Buddhist monasteries.

Hongkong is still a stop-over in the Far East. Very soon it is likely to establish itself as a convention centre and a travel destination.

Minding their own business

TWENTY years ago few people outside Hongkong would have given much for the colony's chances of survival. The United Nations, engaged in war in Korea, imposed an embargo on trade in "strategic" goods with China—and, at a stroke, put an end to Hongkong's traditional means of livelihood.

In 1951 Hongkong's exports and re-exports to China were worth £110 millions out of a total of £305 millions (at post-1967 rate of exchange). In the following year they were £36 millions out of £197 millions. The colony's export trade with China has never recovered (last year, it sold only £4 millions worth of its own and other countries' goods to the mainland), and it was 11 years before its hotel exports regained the level of 1951.

Yet, now, Hongkong's domestic exports alone are running at an annual rate of £192.5 millions. It is eighteenth in the world export league and among the top ten in exports per head of population. On the latter basis of comparison, it does nearly twice as well as Britain.

Why has Hongkong succeeded where other countries, no less keen to build up exporting industries of their own, have failed? The answer is sheer necessity. Hongkong has virtually no natural resources and has to import six sevenths of its food. Two decades ago it could have thrown in its hand, become another impoverished colony and a further burden on the British taxpayer. It chose, instead, to stand on its own two feet.

But it didn't stand still. Fortunately, it had a number of advantages to give it a flying start. It had an abundance of City of London-type financial institutions (a

legacy of its former entrepot days), a ready-made managerial and working force through the influx of refugees ahead of Mao Tse-tung's advancing armies, readily available capital (partly from the same source), and the benefit of Commonwealth Preference to give it a tariff advantage in the British market.

The final ingredient in the recipe for a successful industrial revolution was provided by the Hongkong Government. Its economic policy was, and remains, one of encouraging free enterprise. Its negative aspects—shown in official reluctance to accord special favour to manufacturing industries—is bound up with a liberal commercial policy, which involves a minimum of official intervention or vexatious restrictions, and neither protection nor subsidisation to manufacturers. (Hongkong Annual Report, 1969).

When Sir David Trench, Hongkong's retiring Governor, gave his final "State of the Colony" speech to the Legislative Council, last month, he was able to produce a checklist of economic progress that few developing countries could match and perhaps none surpass.

● In the 10 years from 1961 to 1970, public revenue grew by an average of 11 per cent annually—and this with only one significant rise in rates of taxation.

● Over the same period, electricity consumption rose by an average of 13 per cent annually, and bank deposits by 16 per cent.

● Total external trade increased each year by about 10 per cent from 1961 to 1967, and by as much as an average of 20 per cent annually from 1968 to 1970.

● Since 1961, exports of the

colony's products have grown at the high average rate of nearly 16 per cent annually. This year the increase is running at the rate of 13 per cent.

Sir David told the Legislative Council: "This is a very high rate of growth, and we must not be too surprised if it now begins to prove difficult to maintain it in percentage terms. Moreover, if this should occur, we must always remember that reversion to more modest percentage growth rates, on an expanded base, would still mean satisfactory economic progress."

Of all the changes witnessed in Hongkong over the years, said Sir David, the rising standard of living of ordinary people had perhaps been the most significant. The colony's industrial working force had grown in the past seven years from 350,000 to 600,000, while an extremely low level of unemployment generally had contributed to a rise of 90 per cent in average industrial wages in the same period. The cost of living, meanwhile, had risen only some 25 per cent, giving an increase in real wages—and therefore in the average standard of living—of about 45 per cent.

Two big question marks hang over Hongkong's future economic progress. One concerns Britain's almost certain entry into EEC; the other, the rising tide of protectionism in the United States.

The first of these does not now give the same cause for pessimism that it did when Britain first applied to join the Common Market in 1961. In that year Hongkong's exports to Britain were over three times those to the EEC which then totalled only around £10 millions. Last year exports to the EEC nearly equalled those to

Britain, which were worth just over £100 millions. With the United States, the European Common Market countries have been the markets of greatest growth for Hongkong exports in the past decade, and since this has been accomplished without any tariff preference whatsoever, the colony is less worried than it used to be about the loss of its preferential position in Britain that would result from her entry into EEC.

But there is another consequence of Britain's joining the Common Market that could hurt Hongkong more than the abandonment of Commonwealth preference—which, in any case, has been mitigated by Britain's acceptance of the colony as a beneficiary under its scheme of generalised preferences, on the Unctad pattern. It does not worry Hongkong unduly that it will have to compete in Britain on level terms with the exports of other developing countries

outside EEC; what could be more serious is that it will have to compete, at a tariff disadvantage, with the other Common Market countries.

Nevertheless, Hongkong is reasonably satisfied with the deal that Britain's Common Market negotiators were able to conclude with the Six, which gave the colony qualified inclusion in the EEC scheme of generalised preferences—thus ensuring that it would not be at too much of a disadvantage in selling to the richest countries in Europe vis-à-vis its trade rivals among the developing countries.

A greater threat to Hongkong's trade in the future will come from the current protectionist movement in the United States of America. While it was still trying to assess the likely damage of President Nixon's 10 per cent import duty surcharge on all its exports to the United States except quota-restricted cotton textiles, Hongkong was obliged to initial an agreement with the United States

which will severely limit the export of man-made fibre and woollen textiles for five years from October 1—an outcome of negotiations which the colony's Financial Secretary, Mr C. P. Hadden-Cave, described as having been conducted in the last phase "under the US threat of unilateral import restrictions and against an unreasonable time limit."

Although its imports greatly exceed its exports—last year the gap was £163 millions—the colony has not the slightest intention of departing from its liberal trading traditions. It is still, as it was 20 years ago, standing on its own two feet, in the typical Hongkong attitude, which, in the departing words of the retiring Governor, is to leave industry and commerce to reach their own business decisions as far as possible, while taking care to ensure that fiscal and other policies create a business climate which encourages confidence, investment, innovation, and growth.

Life in the short term

by HUGH D. R. BAKER

CHINA is vast. Whenever you go in the past the empire was weak, the country tended to fragment into a mess of small geographical powers, as with the warlord states of the century. And even when a empire was strong and united, for the majority of Chinese people their society was the local area, not the people of China. These small

Barbarians were often autocratic by dialect and steeped in cultural differences: stonemasonry was rare, of Hongkong is minute. Is it in so very difficult for its million Chinese to be straggled there? In fact, that course, it is not easy. This sterility is isolated, there is nowhere else to go to the people do not all speak the by dialect; with the exception of the relatively small number of indigenous

resettlers do not have a historical connection with the area; these inhabitants have no certain future, and no way of expressing their feelings permanently as would formerly have been achieved by the ownership of land and property. They do not belong.

But parochialism dies hard. Hongkong is small, the frontiers must be made smaller, the horizons drawn in. So the colony is divided. Those who live on Hongkong Island cross the harbour to Kowloon as though on an adventure. Kowloon people reciprocate. The Cantonese term "opposite side of the sea" is used by each to refer to the other. The third great parish, the New Territories, is seldom visited. It is kept in reserve as it were, a foreign land to be visited only on high days. The ultimate in adventure is a trip to Macao, 40 miles away by sea, but that is for the wealthy who can afford the fare.

On a personal level, too, Hongkong people are parochial. Friends, workmates, and relations make up a man's world, a circle of acquaintance within which he can feel secure. Outside it there are other people, and of this he can hardly be unaware, but they are not his people. They do not belong. So a man's social conscience has parochial boundaries too. Within the circle he may be scrupulous, polite to a fault, generous and trusting; but in his dealings outside that circle he feels himself to be under few constraints.

The man who has just spent five minutes trying to get his friend to go through



Dr Baker is Lecturer in Chinese at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

a door before him may now without inconsistency of conduct be pushing aside an old lady whom he does not know in order to get on the bus first. Perhaps more than most societies Chinese society in Hongkong has a cellular construction, and few people move in more than one cell or have much time for the social structure made up of these cells. One cannot hope to stir people by talk of "the public good."

If Hongkong is a small place and the people think small, it is also a characteristic of the colony that it is for most a temporary place and the people think in the short term. It is true that Hongkong Island and Kowloon are British in perpetuity, but the vast bulk of the colony's area is leased land—the New Territories revert to China in 1997 when the lease expires.

Without the New Territories Hongkong has no water (it only just has sufficient with them), no fresh vegetables, no flat land, no airport, little industry, and no breathing space. As a going concern, then, there is little time for anything but the quarter-century left. Satisfactions must be taken while they may, and this feature gives a feverish tone to Hongkong city life. This is in some contrast with the rural areas, where the indigenous people remain on the land which they have held for a thousand years, but even these people are much infected with materialist frenzy, and it is hardly

apposite to think of them in terms of "humble peasantry."

If life is possibly to be short, then little thought need be given to the future. Investment becomes a great risk, so returns must be rapid and high. Saving seems pointless, so spend the money quickly. If life is to be short, then more must be crammed into it, and variety must be sought lest something be missed. Not surprisingly, the Chinese of Hongkong are fickle in their tastes.

They are fickle with their food. One of the major satisfactions which can be immediately realised is good eating, and moreover it is a constantly and frequently recurring satisfaction. Eating has long been the pride of Hongkong. With a superb culinary tradition as a foundation and with the stimulus of the ingrained and growing habit of lavish entertainment in restaurants, it would be odd if Hongkong's restaurants were not of the best. But the people want variety, so "the fashionable restaurant" comes about. As soon as a place gets a good name, it is swamped by the eager gastronomes, only to be replaced in their affections within a few months.

They are fickle with their gods. Few Chinese believe in any one religion; rather they will subscribe to those religious or aspects of religions which seem to offer them the benefits they require. If the Emperor of Heaven does not respond to prayer by granting the coveted win at Mahjong, then go to another temple and worship the God of War, or perhaps try asking a statue of the Virgin Mary.

They are fickle with their medicine, running from gods to Western doctors, to Chinese doctors, to spirit mediums. Immediate results are what count.

They are not fickle with their gambling, because gambling, like food, gives immediate satisfaction and is the obvious pursuit in Hongkong's atmosphere of frenzy. The racecourse at Happy Valley draws capacity crowds. Government lotteries take in millions of dollars. Gambling at cards, at Mahjong, at billiards, and at football is universal, and for those not poor there is always Macao with its dogtrack and licensed casinos. Even the recent boom on the Hongkong Stock Exchange surely has its origins in gambling rather than in investment.

Of course, Hongkong's people work hard too.

Give us your name and we'll make it a work of art

From as low as seventy new pence and a little time exploring the side streets of Hong Kong, you'll find skilled craftsmen who'll carve your name in ivory, jade, soapstone or quartz.

More than this, they'll interpret it in the classic calligraphic characters of China to give you unique workmanship and one of the most memorable reminders of the Orient.

The Chinese seal or "chop". Hong Kong offers you personalized "chops" in various sizes and shapes.

There are pocket-sized ones embellished with miniature works of art. And inscribed with poems or philosophical messages. Then there are larger ones topped off with unicorns, dragons and other sculptured forms.

While you're waiting for your "chop" to be

carved, discover Hong Kong's other treasures.

Give us your name and address. We'll send you colourful brochures that tell the whole story.

Write: Hong Kong Tourist Association - Chichester House, 278 282 High Holborn, London WC1, or Box 2597, G.P.O., Hong Kong, B.C.C.

Hong Kong

More than you'll bargain for

هكذا من لاصلي

CASHMORES

more than steel

Britain may win weather project

By PETER RODGERS

Mr Frederick Corfield, Minister for Aerospace, has been talking about the weather among other things when he starts an important two-day meeting in Brussels this afternoon, with technology ministers from 18 other countries in Europe. The meeting is the long-awaited result of the Algrain reports on technological collaboration in Europe, and one of the most important of the new much-reduced range of projects it will discuss is a European weather centre.

This will aim, with the aid of giant computers, to develop reliable three day to eight-day forecasts, instead of the present maximum of 48 hours ahead. Because of its new £4 million BM computer, which puts it well ahead of other European weather laboratories, the meteorological Office's laboratory at Bracknell, Berkshire, is strong favourite as the site of the centre.

It would be a valuable industrial project with an initial cost of £8 millions over five years from the date of the go-ahead, which at the earliest would be months from now. Running costs will also be sizeable at about £3 millions a year after completion.

The centre is one of 17 groups of projects which remain on a long official list of possibilities. The list originally ran to 40 or more projects.

What's left after four years' talks, political arguments and philosophical discussions is a series of more practical and less controversial ideas. Part of the weather centre was a plan for a pilot computer-to-computer communications network, studies of satellite series, materials and flight, a European computer network, information centre, a survey of European transport needs up to the year 2000. Seven of the projects will be assessed today and tomorrow another 10 are still being queued about behind the scenes.

The collaboration plans were started in 1967 by the six Common Market countries and they were the Algrain report which was published in 1969. In spite of its high profile, the project has been a dismal case of ideas being put by the way side and as the number of countries involved has swelled inordinately, the plans were drawn up at a time when it was thought Britain would soon be in EEC.

But the British was nevertheless right into the plans after assurance from some of the other members of the Six. But the French insisted in turn that Britain should not be brought in alone. In the end the EFTA countries and Ireland were asked to join, but to the impression that it was simply an EFTA and EEC move, most of the rest of Europe eventually signed up as including Yugoslavia and Turkey, so the list in fact added all OECD members in one go.

FOR THE THIRD TIME in his eighteen months as Chancellor, Mr Anthony Barber has faced one of the central issues of economic policy, over-riding the normal prejudices of conservatism, and got it right.

The first was when he ignored the clamour from his own backbenches—and from some more respectable sources—and refused to fight inflation through a draconian credit policy. The second was in his splendid speech in Washington, when he made it clear that at least, has outgrown the theology of gold, and wants properly administered international paper money.

And now he appears to have completed his apostasy—and his own postbag shows that his disregard for the dogmas of the "sound money" religion is regarded as nothing less than apostasy by its remaining adherents. He is ready to push up public spending in order to fill the hole in the labour market. Since we have been urging this course for a year now, this is in some ways the most welcome of all his conversions.

His new view was given as a single sentence in his reply to the recent economic debate and somewhat expanded yesterday in a newspaper interview. On both occasions he made it clear that he regards

an accelerated investment programme for the public sector as a commonsense answer to a particular emergency at the moment—an uncomfortable bulge in unemployment left over from last year's recession. But in doing so he has set a precedent which is, I believe, a great deal more important than he or nearly anyone else yet realises.

To set this precedent at all, he has had to over-ride not only the Conservative sentiment in favour of sound budgeting, but the Treasury's attachment to long-term planning of public investment. This dates back to the Plowden report on public expenditure, and has been a sacred doctrine ever since.

(I remember once seeing the Treasury's chief economic adviser, Sir Donald MacDougall, completely floored on this point. He had given a long talk on the need for long-term plans in public investment, and the tremendous cost of disrupting these plans for the sake of the balance of payments or the state of the economy. Did he then, an industrial planner asked, regard it as less costly

Barber sees the light

The Chancellor is more revolutionary than he may realise when he mobilises the public sector to put the unemployed to work, argues Anthony Harris

for private industry to have to adjust its output and investment plans whenever the economic wind shifted? No answer.)

Mr Barber, by asking the nationalised industries to revise their long-term plans and bring projects forward now, has therefore established a new precedent and a new doctrine. The reason I regard this as so important is that I do not believe that the "emergency" Mr Barber is tackling will prove nearly as exceptional as he must hope.

Why, after all, is unemployment so high at the moment? The idea is now pretty well accepted that it is because of a permanent—and long overdue—shakeout of labour by manufacturing industry.

has made the CBI so active in the cause of public spending.)

But suppose that the refutation is a success: what will then happen? Investment and consumer spending will recover, but there is no guarantee that the demand for labour will also respond. On the contrary, there are plenty of signs to show that the next round of investment and modernisation will reduce still further the demand for labour in manufacturing. In the long run, one can expect a growth of the service industries, but there is no law of economics to say that the demand for services will grow fast enough to prevent unemployment rising.

The deficiency can arise in two ways: either because of deficient demand (or excessive saving) as at the moment. In such a case, deficit spending by the Government is the appropriate answer. Mr Barber can raise public sector investment while he cuts taxes.

But unemployment may persist even when refutation leads to "excessive" demand, as measured through the balance

of payments—the problem of regional unemployment even in a boom is a familiar one, and the problem would only solve itself if the unemployed completed for service jobs to point where wages were depressed enough to stimulate the creation of new ones.

Both trade union activity and the existence of wage-related unemployment benefit (related, in the latter resort, to manufacturing wages) prevents this. It is as possible in Britain as in India to have a "modern" sector of the economy which does not use up all the available labour.

What Mr Barber is now proving is that the State can solve this problem by adding social to private demand. At present public spending is financed by borrowing, and looks economically like a Keynesian refutation: but with a different level of private demand, and a different balance of payments, public spending would have to be financed from taxes: the process would then look more like redistribution from the employed to the otherwise unemployed.

Will Mr Barber one day be a Conservative Chancellor arguing for high public spending and high taxes, too? Now that he is demonstrating that the State can put the unemployed to work, he may find this logic hard to resist.

BSC to 'lose' past losses

By VICTOR KEEGAN

Negotiations between the Government and the British Steel Corporation to cancel a large part of the BSC's accumulated losses and to increase its borrowing powers are believed to be at an advanced stage.

An announcement is expected in the forthcoming Iron and Steel Bill to be introduced to Parliament soon but it may be speeded up if the Government decides to bring forward some of the corporation's investment plans in order to relieve unemployment.

The corporation has not yet been told by the Government to accelerate any of its capital expenditure but it could happen at any time since the whole programme is being reviewed by the Department of Trade and Industry. The main purpose of the Bill is to increase the statutory borrowing powers of the BSC from the present limit of £650 millions to enable it to continue its planned capital expenditure programme.

Like most nationalised industries the BSC has appealed to the Government for financial assistance to enable it to peg its prices at the 5 per cent maximum recommended by the CBI. Part of the BSC's problems arise from the fact that the Government halted a proposed 14 per cent price increase earlier this year. The corporation is now making losses approaching £22 millions a week.

The BSC has pointed out to the Government that it cannot be expected to make a profit when its prices are pegged yet it is required to maintain its capital expenditure programme. The DTI may also clarify soon the much-debated question of whether a new ten million ton steel works, costing well over £1,000 millions should be located in Australia, near the source of the raw materials, or in Britain. The corporation's preference is for such a steel-works to be located in Europe (not necessarily in Britain though) near its major markets, but the DTI has been seriously considering the economics of making crude steel in Australia and delivering it to European and Far Eastern markets in semi-finished form. If such a project were undertaken Mr John Davies, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, is likely to favour the introduction of private capital in some form or other.

The BSC dismissed weekend reports that Lord Melchett the BSC's chairman might be forced to resign over the possible construction of a giant steel works in Australia not under the dominance of the BSC.

THIS WEEK

Interest centres on ICI

A wide range of interesting companies are expected to report their interim and final results this week. Headlining the list is ICI, whose third quarter figures are due on Thursday. The group's first half pre-tax profits were down £3 millions at £74 millions.

Bass Charrington is also expected to weigh in on Thursday with its final results, which, if they follow the trend shown by the interim figures, should show a substantial increase in profits.

Other finals expected this week include Metropolitan Estate and Property Corporation (Tuesday) and the Proprietors of Hay's Wharf (Thursday).

BSA 'to recover in two years'

By OUR FINANCIAL STAFF

Lord Shawcross, the chairman of Birmingham Small Arms, says in his annual report that he is unable at present to make any financial forecast for the company's 1971-2 year in view of the current reorganisation of BSA's large motor-cycle division. But the directors believe that the benefits of reorganisation will be apparent during 1972-3.

He points out that with the £10 millions of funds made available recently from institutional sources, together with the sales of trade investments, the group should have sufficient funds to get them over the seasonal peak during the next few months.

After this, the company's borrowing position "should be very much better and merit some continued support from the banks and the Export Credits Guarantee Department." Lord Shawcross says that the company has already obtained "some £2 millions" from the sale of its holding in the Sealed Motor Construction Company, and he expects that the remaining £3 millions needed to cover the company's estimated peak requirements during the next few months "will be obtained shortly from the sale of most, if not all, of the metal components division."

The company's auditors, Cooper Brothers, have qualified the company's accounts for the year to July 1971.

In their report, Cooper Brothers say: "We have been unable to verify the adequacy or otherwise of the provision for future costs of factory and product rationalisation in the motor-cycle division, stated in the accounts at £4.25 millions." Subject to this reservation, says the auditors, the accounts

and accompanying notes, particularly Note 11, together give a true and fair view.

The section of the directors' report to which the auditors refer points out that the provision of £4.25 millions for future rationalisation costs cannot be assessed precisely. It is an estimate prepared on a conservative basis.

Note 11 to the accounts reiterates the point made by the company's former chairman, Mr Eric Turner, in a letter to shareholders early last month. It says that the accounts have been prepared on a going concern basis, and that the balance sheet figures would not fairly reflect the position if the company were to be put into liquidation. But bluntly the note warns that the assets of the company would be worth substantially less than their balance sheet value in the event of liquidation.

The directors also point out that during the year, the value of stocks in the motor-cycle division increased by about £64 millions. They say some £22 millions of this was a planned increase to take into account the effect of inflation and the abnormally low stocks at the previous year-end.

But the remainder of the increase was largely accounted for by higher than normal factory stocks and work in progress as a consequence of the division's inability to complete finished machines in time for the peak selling season.

Lord Shawcross, in his report, says that the adjustments on reserves associated with the provisions the company has had to make, the disposal of investments and trading losses, is to reduce stockholders' investment in the group to £15.8 millions.

COMMODITIES

Cocoa may fall further

Cocoa prices, after a brief respite, declined to fresh five-year lows last week, with losses of up to £9 per ton being recorded at Friday's close. During that afternoon the week's lowest point was reached, when near December traded at £186, March at £193.50 and May at £198.50.

Last week's losses were prompted by reports of selling by most origins and removal of speculative interest in view of the bearish statistical outlook for the market, which augurs even lower prices and thus produces fear of even further selling. Recent manufacturer covering in futures has also showed signs of drying up and the general outlook for prices is pessimistic.

Rubber also lost ground last week and the spot price, buyers, closed on Friday at 13.60p per kilo—down 0.30p on the week. The tight technical squeeze on November in Singapore ended with the position expired and, with this artificial support removed, the market returned to fundamentals.

High stocks

West Malaysian statistics show that stocks at the end of September were the second highest since February, nearly 30,000 tons above the previous September's and 50,000 above those for September, 1969. While demand remains at a low ebb and high production and stock figures continue to overhang the market, there is little optimism for any sustained price improvement.

As expected, the International Sugar Council set initial quotas for 1972 at 105 per cent of basic export tonnages, making 9.2 million tons available next year. The London futures market reacted little to this news and overall price movements during last week were fairly narrow.

However, the market displayed an underlying buoyancy (helped by estimates of a drop in Cuban production and a disrupted start to the harvest), although a mid-week advance was checked following the announcement that F. O. Licht has estimated 1971/72 world production at 74,826,000 tons, compared with 72,768,000 in 1970/71.

The world price of physicals showed little movement and the London daily price of raw sugar remained consistently at \$45 per ton. Coffee futures were more active last week, showing an overall steadier tendency. At the close on Friday, spot November was quoted at \$381 per ton, compared with \$368.50 the previous Friday.

Fears of a tight quota position, particularly for other mild Arabica coffees, and reports that the Uganda Board had withdrawn from the market as a seller of January/March shipment—quota sales for that period having been completed—combined to produce buying interest.

The ICO executive board postponed any decision on the US proposal to switch first and second quarter quotas at its meeting this week.

The majority of North Indian teas on offer at last week's auctions displayed fresh gains while Ceylons, with the exception of Uvas, advanced for all descriptions. The wool market was initially quietly traded although subsequent improved US bids forced both the dry-combed and greasy contracts higher.

London Metal Exchange Markets remained subdued with copper and lead closing Friday at \$399 and \$266.75 per metric ton for the respective cash positions—the lowest levels for four years.

Camden proves car hire is not only for giants

Growth Fund
By JOHN COYNE

WHEN YOU have a group like Godfrey Davis standing on an historic price earnings ratio of 18.7 (and a prospective one of 17) it seems the time to buy into Camden Group.

While it is a smaller firm in car hire and motor dealing, this is compensated for by the broader trading base provided by a substantial hire purchase and finance business.

Like others in the car hire business, Camden Group's profits are bounding ahead under the two-pronged effect of a better underlying trading trend, and the sharp upturn in used car prices this year, which has tended to cut back the depreciation losses car fletch who they are replaced with current models.

In percentage terms Camden's profit has been moving up faster than those of Davis. In the first half of its latest year to end September last they rose by 23 per cent before tax, and I gather that the stimulus that the Government's refashioning move provided, especially on the car sales side, has tended to accelerate the growth in the closing months.

However even at the first half rate of increase, profits for the year are going to come out at £230,000 before tax. On this figure earnings would be 45½ per cent, to put the prospective price earnings ratio at only 9.7.

So Camden's historic earnings multiple of 22.2 and prospective one of 9.7 compare with 19.7 and 17 for Davis, and while the larger size and better record of the latter clearly argues a premium, certainly not one of this size.

On trading grounds the prospective price earnings ratio ought to be nearer 14 to bring Camden into line with the rating accorded Davis. This would argue a price of around 64p for Camden.

But this is simply on the trading front. Camden is sitting on some valuable assets which suggest that a rationalisation programme for those property sites that could be better used for development outside the main business, could leave the trading side virtually unscathed as far as profits are concerned.

Thus justifying much the same share price for earnings—and either raise new funds for expansion or generate new profits from rentals.

Unofficial estimates suggest that the current asset position is equal to something over 60p a share. However if the straight asset situation were separated from a trading situation which

HOW WE STAND			
Shares Company	Buying price	Present price	Present value
500 Bossey & Hawkes	160	220	1,100
1,750 Wearra Shoes	27	36	630
1,000 Reinsurance Corporation	58	82	820
1,500 Colmore Investments	34	34½	517
500 Redfern National Glass	136	168	840
2,500 Ellis & Goldstein	25	28	700
2,000 Nantyglo & Blaina Estates	26	40	800
1,000 Lambert Howarth Group	59	62	620
800 Barton & Sons	72	72	576
200 Charles Sharpe	281	350	700
1,800 Wm. Jacks	26	30	540
700 Robert H. Lowe	72	87	609
1,000 Camden Group	44	—	450
Cash			1,221
			10,153
			5,000
Capital on April 17, 1971			5,153
Profit after realised dealing expenses			

is rated on its earnings, then the market price would be a lot more than just this present asset value.

There are plenty of rumours around, that this is just what has happened with the group. Rationalisation moves are thought to have been sparked off by a bid approach.

The board had little difficulty in discouraging this approach, with its own personal holding approaching two million ordinary shares, but of course they have a duty to other shareholders to see that the shares attain a worth equal to, or above, any suggested takeover price.

Anyway, whether it is viewed as a break-up situation, or a straight trading case, the shares look far too cheap at their current 44p. The indicated yield of 5.1 per cent is also useful as something of an income sweetener in any portfolio now-

days, with the average return in the market as low as 3½ per cent.

There has been little relevant news to affect the rest of the portfolio over the past week and it has merely tended to move up with the market. It is probably worth commenting on Lambert and Howarth group in relation to the current cold spell.

When last I spoke to the group they told me they were taking a calculated gamble on good sales around Christmas, by building up reserve stocks sufficient to cope with any additional demand upturn. What was needed to ensure a really buoyant outcome to an already good year was a nice cold snap to lift demand for winter shoes and boots.

Well, they seem to be getting it at the moment, so they must remain a buy at only a few pence above my original recommendation price.

Difficult for Common Bros

Sir Rupert Speir, the chairman of Common Brothers, the shipping group, says in his annual report that the current year is likely to be difficult for the group.

The improved returns are expected from orthodox ship-owning operations which should more than offset poorer results being experienced by the ancillary services.

As regards CTE Limited, he says results depend upon the success of a vigorous reorganisation of that company's operations and ability to contain increasing costs.

Chemical links best-EDC

Research-based pharmaceutical companies achieve the most effective access to overseas markets by establishing marketing subsidiaries. Supplying markets directly or through licensing has the disadvantage that direct control is weakened.

This is the main point in a survey of pharmaceutical firms published today by the Economic Development Committee for Chemicals. The Centre for the Study of Industrial Innovation did the survey for the EDC's pharmaceuticals working party.

Chemical links best-EDC

Research-based pharmaceutical companies achieve the most effective access to overseas markets by establishing marketing subsidiaries. Supplying markets directly or through licensing has the disadvantage that direct control is weakened.

This is the main point in a survey of pharmaceutical firms published today by the Economic Development Committee for Chemicals. The Centre for the Study of Industrial Innovation did the survey for the EDC's pharmaceuticals working party.

Other finals expected this week include Metropolitan Estate and Property Corporation (Tuesday) and the Proprietors of Hay's Wharf (Thursday).

CITY COMMENT

ON ENGINEERING

Some what justifying

AT DOES the word "some-what" mean when applied to profits forecast? Less than months ago, Simon Engineering had forecast somewhat an increase in profits at the same time issued its interim statement. After the interim statement, it was out to be an easy feat: plant contract, has been over, Simon says that profits range between £2.5 millions and £3.5 millions, between a and a third less than the millions made last year.

is perhaps normal for an annual contracting group to be able to give only an estimate of profits—the difference is 1,000—six weeks before the end of the year. But it is less to see why it was not able to announce that profits for the year would be significantly lower by the end of September when it issued its interim statement.

if the same, it is a relief the rumours of losses of millions were not true and the proposed debenture of £5 millions is part of a normal commercial policy with any particular urgency. At present rates Simon may have something above 9 per cent of all the trouble of investment interest in engineering. Taking the file of Simon's estimate of £24 millions pre-tax, fall in the second half

would be around 27 per cent. This one year drop in profits is, as Mr Brooke, the Simon chairman says, Government incentives for investment. This would probably mean investment grants, and the present Government has been loth to concede this.

Even that would take time to work through to profits so the shares at 116p on an unchanged P/E ratio of 10.1 could have further to fall. These results could also have adverse effects on other process plant manufacturers such as Davy-Ashmore, Matthew Hall, and Capper Neill.

LONGTON TRANSPORT

Assorted offering

SMALL industrial holding companies are not favourites of the stock market and as a result Longton Transport, this week's offer for sale from Industrial and Commercial Finance Corporation, is coming to the market on a comparatively low price earnings ratio.

The group put together by the Dale family of Stoke-on-Trent is a jumble of different interests. It has a transport subsidiary; it sells and repairs lorries and cars, stores furniture, stocks and processes steel, and it runs a warehouse and distribution business for companies like Quaker Oats and General Foods.

Two years ago the board decided to diversify still further into cement mixers but

this proved a disaster and the company had to quickly close down the business and write off £150,000 from reserves.

At the same time the group's prospectus shows that the average age of the six directors—who after the issue will control 43 per cent of the equity—has just entered into a new five-year service contract.

Up until two years ago the group's past record was consistent but dull. Pre-tax profit between 1962 and 1969 grew from £109,000 to £215,000. The group then started processing sheet steel to customers' requirements. This plus BSC price increases helped profit to jump from £278,000 to £358,000 last year.

The board has decided to install a second heavier "cut-up" line next year but already the cost of new machinery and higher steel stocks has sent the group's overdraft and HP commitments up to £285,000.

The offer for sale, which will increase the group's ordinary capital by a third, will raise £858,000 and will be used to reduce these overdrafts.

Profit growth for the current year to March has been held back by the poor commercial vehicle market and the board is forecasting £377,000 pre-tax.

Exactly 63 per cent of the group's ordinary capital is in deferred shares which are not eligible for dividends until 1976. Excluding these at the offer for sale price of 47p, the shares are on a prospective price earnings ratio of 7.8 with a yield of 6.1. Fully diluted the shares are on a prospective price earnings ratio of 12.6.

Highland Distilleries

Highlights from the Annual Report and the Statement by the Chairman, Mr. H. M. Penman, presented to the 85th Annual General Meeting of The Highland Distilleries Company, Limited held in Glasgow on the 19th November, 1971.

Year ended 31st August	1971	1970
Group Profit before Taxation	1,915,604	1,863,782
Group Profit after Taxation	1,242,554	1,130,082
Ordinary Capital	2,558,750	2,488,750
Dividend Rate	30%	29%

Group profits before taxation include £108,293, being the post acquisition profits of Matthew Glas and Son Limited which was purchased in November 1970. Group sales amounted to £5,315,300, of which £1,189,720, including duty, related to Glasgow Sales for the year, ex Glasgow, show an increase of £179,854. Prices for our new whiskies were increased but this was offset by higher grain costs. The upturn in sales of matured whisky in the second half of the year was due to some extent to higher shipments to the U.S.A. in advance of the longshoremen's strike.

Dividends from Robertson & Baxter Limited totalled £228,713 compared with £212,897 last year. This company continues to support the development of the brands in which it is interested.

We believe that in "Famous Grouse" we have acquired a particularly high quality Scotch Whisky. Sales in the initial period have been developing most satisfactorily, but it may well be some time before we can expect any additional profit from this source, on account of high promotional expenditure.

Contracts for malted barley for delivery in 1972 have been arranged at somewhat lower prices than applied this year, and indications are that there will be an improvement in quality. It is a little too early to comment on prospects for new whisky sales in 1972, and, as regards matured whiskies, accelerated shipments to the U.S.A. this year may have some effect on our sales next year.



BELL'S

SCOTCH WHISKY

"Afore ye go"

SHAREHOLDERS' GUARDIAN

A MARKET ANALYSIS SERVICE INCLUDING
CAPITALISATION AND NET ASSET VALUE

IN THIS NEW once-a-week statistical investment breakdown of 1,000 companies, exclusively prepared for the Guardian by Exchange Telegraph computer, the price quoted is the official closing price on Friday, in pence. The price-earnings ratio is based on the last full year's figures, except where there is an official company forecast for the current year.

The dividend rate is also either the historic payment or an official forecast, except in the following cases: where there has been an increase in the interim to

"reduce the disparity between interim and final payments," an unchanged total is assumed. Where there is no qualification from the chairman or where the advice is that an increase in the total dividend is expected, an unchanged final is assumed and added with the increased interim payment. In the event of a cut in the interim payment, the rate of the final dividend has been scaled down proportionately. If the interim is passed, no figure will be given. In the event of the

resumption of payments without any firm official forecast, a "nil" final will be assumed whether or not the chairman intimates the possibility of a final to follow. Bonus payments will be included in the rate where they are regularly paid, i.e. paid for at least two successive years.

The market capitalisation takes in the value of all classes of equity capital. The final column shows net assets per share in new pence. This is calculated on the tangible assets shown in the balance sheet with

adjustments where official and realistic up-to-date valuations are shown in the foot notes to the accounts. Quoted investments, for instance, would be taken at their market value rather than the cost price shown in the balance sheet; and where directors put a firm valuation of property surpluses, this too would be taken into account.

Where no realistic asset position can be given, such as in the case of banks and insurance firms with inner reserves, or some mining companies, no figure will be shown.

BELL'S

SCOTCH WHISKY

"Afore ye go"

Share	Price	P/E ratio	Dividend per cent	Dividend cover	Yield per cent	Market Cap. '000	Net Asset Value
-------	-------	-----------	-------------------	----------------	----------------	------------------	-----------------

BANKS & DISCOUNT HOUSES

Alexander's Disc.	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Alfred Jones	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of Scotland	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of Ireland	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of London	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of Montreal	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of New York	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of Paris	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of Rome	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of Spain	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of Sweden	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of Switzerland	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the Netherlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the United Kingdom	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the East Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the South Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the North Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0
Bank of the West Midlands	10	10.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	100	10.0</

NUS avoids fiery path on funds

From JOHN EZARD in Margate

The National Union of Students succeeded by a large majority yesterday in restraining its militants in the campaign against the Government proposal to hand over financial control of student unions to dons.

Delegates agreed by 371,658 to 8,550, with 20,724 abstentions, in a block card vote, to reject the proposals totally as "a blueprint for the complete destruction of student unions." and to invest 25,000 in defeating them, the biggest sum it has ever spent on a campaign. As the climax it will call a national day of action on January 23.

Mr Digby Jacks, the president said: "We must use every ounce of strength of the union and every grain of intelligence in our membership." But conference clearly rejected by a show of hands a call for a total shutdown of every academic institution and direct action involving public buildings and academic institutions.

At the instigation of Leeds University this was struck out of a five-page motion tabled by 17 colleges. Mr Piers Corby, union president at Imperial College, London, protested: "This motion has been emasculated. The only way to beat the Government is by massive, militant disruption."

The 1,070 delegates also deleted a clause ordering the executive not to negotiate or talk to the Government on any threatening proposals. The union is not even asking for cancellation of lectures on January 23 unless lecturers agree.

Afterwards Mr Jacks said: "We cannot spell out the action on January 23. This will depend on what colleges agree." Mr Jack Straw, outgoing resident, said: "It was a restrained, sane debate. Conference was not provoked into mindless rage."

In fact, the executive and most delegates presented a disciplined front on what they see as a survival issue in which maximum support from college heads and the public will be crucial in discussions with the Government. The debate was conducted with iron courtesy by Mr Tony Klug, an NUS vice-president, lasted for nearly four hours and overran by only 10 minutes. Militancy came not in action proposed but in the words of the motion's preamble. "Conference realises that the thinking behind the whole Tory rank and file philosophy on education is that with the destruction of the organisational independence of the student unions, it will be easier to intro-

Three die in sea gusts

BLIZZARDS hit the Scottish Highlands again yesterday, adding to the deep drifts blocking many side roads. Snow ploughs were battling to keep roads open. In the north of England heavy rain had cleared roads to the border.

The quick thaw and a high wind brought tricky driving conditions on motorways.

A father and son, and another man drowned when their dinghy overturned in a sudden squall off Minnis Bay, Bournemouth, near Margate, yesterday. Mr Roy Reid, aged 41, and his son, Keith, aged 18, both of Marmion Close, Chingford, Essex, and Mr James Albert Finch, aged 59, of Marmion Avenue, Chingford, were found to be dead.

After drifting in the North Sea, driven 30 miles off course by gale force winds, the 200-ton motor vessel Festivity, of London, was taken in tow by a Hull tug yesterday. It was believed to be heading for the Humber in the face of gusts of up to 50 knots.

Later the Festivity, was reported to be sailing in heavy seas and the three-man crew were hoping to abandon ship.

Belgians from Tournai, flying to Inverness to take part in the international "It's a Knock Out" competition, were delayed at the Aviemore holiday centre, had to land at the Royal Naval Air Station, Lossiemouth. Buses taking them the rest of the way became stuck several times as the team crossed the desolate Bann Moor and the team had to get out to dig and push.

Heavy snow still falling last night on the A82 road near Glenelg, and apart from the Highlands, the rest of the country was expected to stay "cold and windy, with scattered rain, sleet or snow showers in eastern districts."

Many roads in Wales were impassable because of flooding and the Horseshoe Pass was still blocked by snow. In London the temperature reached as high as the mid-fifties Fahrenheit but in a matter of 10 minutes it dropped by 10 degrees on the roof of the Weather Centre.

A climber, Mr Morvan Reed, of Avenue Avenue, Tottenham, North London, died from exposure on Tryfan in Snowdonia on Saturday night. His companion, Mr Edward Avery, of Gosforth, Waltham, Cross, Hertfordshire, was taken to hospital at Bangor with exposure.

An RAF helicopter rescued two skin divers yesterday as their rubber dinghy was being blown out to sea in a gale off Anglesey. They were Mr T. W. Ezard, aged 26, of Ash Road, Birmingham, and Mr R. E. Munday, aged 21, of Alport Road, Bromborough, Wirral.

Britain may win European weather project, page 17.

Sithole ill or injured

Continued from page one

actually a paid agent of the Rhodesian security services. A sentence of six years in prison was then passed on Mr Sithole. In fact, Mr Nkomo and the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole have not been free men for seven years since they were both put into detention without charges and without the right of habeas corpus, before UDI.

It is not clear whether the handwriting of the ZANU memorandum, given to Sir Alec Douglas-Home during the present Salisbury negotiations, is that of Mr Sithole or of one of his ZANU colleagues in prison with him. The remarkable thing about the ZANU "network" is that Mr Sithole was able, while in prison, to revise his book "African Nationalism," first published in 1960. Handwritten chapters were taken out and, even more incredibly, typed sheets were brought back into the prison for him to correct, by the use of smuggled ballpoint pens.

Friends and relatives of Mr Sithole are acutely aware that another Rhodesian Nationalist leader, Mr Leopold Takawira, died a year ago in detention in circumstances that remain unclear: the authorities said it was illness. Like Mr Sithole, a Protestant clergyman with strong missionary connections, Mr Takawira was a practising Christian with many links in the mission field. Both men were dedicated to interracial projects: after years in detention, each began thinking about the need to change to more militant tactics.



Spray breaking over the 25ft sea wall at Clevedon, Somerset, yesterday. The resort is on the Severn estuary

IRA play it cool in Ulster

By SIMON WINCHESTER

Apart from a number of inconsequential border incidents and a solitary bomb in a Belfast car dealer's showroom, the weekend here has been remarkably quiet.

The only incident of real significance in the past 10 days has been the shooting of a soldier in the Short Strand in Belfast on Thursday, and in the light of this uneasy calm, many people are beginning to wonder just what is afoot.

No one doubts that this is merely a temporary halt to the military activities of the two wings of the IRA. But there is less certainty of the reason for the lack of activity. One suggestion which seems reasonable assumes that the Provisionals in Belfast have in fact taken quite a hammering in the past two or three weeks as a result of the arrests of leading figures in the organisation; and that in addition the tarring incidents two weeks ago in Londonderry have done a lot to harm the popular image of the IRA within the Catholic community.

The organisation may therefore be working out a new short-term strategy, involving some form of violence which, within their present capacity to produce, which will not further resuscitate Catholic opinion and yet which will have enough effect to show the organisation is still very much a force to be reckoned with. To achieve the necessary propaganda effect, a hipartisan approach is maintained: any breakdown would, it is felt, greatly assist the morale of the IRA and reduce that of the British forces.

A Humber one-ton armoured car was badly damaged by a Claymore mine which exploded underneath it on a road between Clonmel and Crossmaglen, near the Irish border yesterday. A 15ft crater was

blown in the road by the mine which was thought to be similar in size to another found nearby, which contained 50lb. of high explosive and several pounds of nails, rivets, and iron bolts.

The army and police stressed yesterday that the discovery of a buried cache of arms at the Sacred Heart Convent in Armagh was a coincidence and was not connected with the searching of the Clonmel monastery at Portlone at the end of the week. A number of commandos searched the convent grounds yesterday, but found nothing.

A shot was fired at troops in Londonderry yesterday while they were removing barricades in Lene Road, Bogside. Cardinal Conway and six bishops issued a joint statement, yesterday deploring the "continuing trail of death and destruction" and also condemning "another form of violence."

We refer to the process of "interrogation in depth" as it has been practised in Northern Ireland in recent months.

Protestants still feel that Mr Wilson came to Ulster as something of a semi-official emissary, sent because it was realised in London that more people would talk to him and would talk more fully than they would to a Tory Minister.

Whether this semi-official nature of his trip is indicated by his speech remains to be seen, but there is a profound hope among military advisers that he will stick firmly by the Conservatives in suggesting any initiatives. Mr Wilson is known to have been told that the army believes it militarily crucial that a bipartisan approach is maintained: any breakdown would, it is felt, greatly assist the morale of the IRA and reduce that of the British forces.

A Humber one-ton armoured car was badly damaged by a Claymore mine which exploded underneath it on a road between Clonmel and Crossmaglen, near the Irish border yesterday. A 15ft crater was

blown in the road by the mine which was thought to be similar in size to another found nearby, which contained 50lb. of high explosive and several pounds of nails, rivets, and iron bolts.

The army and police stressed yesterday that the discovery of a buried cache of arms at the Sacred Heart Convent in Armagh was a coincidence and was not connected with the searching of the Clonmel monastery at Portlone at the end of the week. A number of commandos searched the convent grounds yesterday, but found nothing.

A shot was fired at troops in Londonderry yesterday while they were removing barricades in Lene Road, Bogside. Cardinal Conway and six bishops issued a joint statement, yesterday deploring the "continuing trail of death and destruction" and also condemning "another form of violence."

We refer to the process of "interrogation in depth" as it has been practised in Northern Ireland in recent months.

Ulster hotel fire a mystery

From DEREK BROWN in Londonderry

The cause of the fire which destroyed a hotel in the centre of Londonderry early yesterday morning was still not known last night. Two firemen died when the upper floors of the Melville Hotel in Foyle Road, collapsed, burying them in burning timber and rubble. Their bodies will probably not be recovered until today.

The Melville has been the target of two recent bomb attacks. In September an explosion destroyed a bar, and last month, another bomb was removed and defused by the army.

The investigations yesterday were hampered by the dangerous state of the gutted building, which was still burning eight hours after the fire started about 4 a.m.

Last night bulldozers moved in to start demolishing the hotel. One fireman said that two partition walls inside the building were "swaying the breeze."

Mr George Murphy, the commander of the Northern Ireland fire force said yesterday: "At this stage the cause of the fire has not been ascertained. We will not know until investigations are complete, but I think it is going to be difficult to discover the exact cause until the building is badly damaged."

The two men who died were Leading Fireman Leonard McCann, aged about 40, who was married with three children, and Leading Fireman Andrew Wylie, aged 35, who was married. They were working the ground floor of the building near the reception desk when the fire broke out.

A BBC television crew who had been filming men fighting the fire had the hotel only three minutes before.

Mr George Morrison, deputy Northern Ireland fire force commander, said the fire was fanned by almost gale force winds, giving it a "blow torch" effect. The floors collapsed without any warning. "As the outburst was made by fire and the police and army rescue the men, but to no avail. There was no chance at all of recovering them," he said.

Mr Murphy and Mr Mowat praised the policemen and soldiers who helped in the abortive rescue attempt.

The only people in the hotel when the fire broke out, the owner and his wife, Mrs Tony Kerney, and manageress, Mrs Maureen, and her husband, they managed to escape by the main exit when the building was at well alight.

Sacked Minister backs IRA

From our Dublin Correspondent

The former Irish Minister for Agriculture, Mr Neil Blaney, launched a fresh attack on Mr Lynch at the weekend in a speech which clearly called on his Donegal constituents to support the Provisional IRA.

Mr Blaney was in the border county of Donegal for the first time since his dismissal, at Mr Lynch's behest, from the Fianna Fail Parliamentary Party. Tonight Mr Lynch is almost certain to propose that the party's national executive expel Mr Blaney from the organisation.

Mr Blaney was sacked from his ministerial post in May 1970 on the suspicion of being involved in a gun-running plot. He was later acquitted on a charge of conspiracy to import guns but for 18 months has continued to resist Mr Lynch's pacifist attitude to the North.

At Letterkenny on Saturday he made his most direct plea to nationalist supporters: "Give shelter to those who come to you, give them aid, give them money, and anything that might be useful to them. Let the people who are carrying on the struggle in the six counties know that you are with them. This is a continuation of 1916 and 1921 and it can never be finished until the whole country is free."

Mr Blaney said the real issue was that the Fianna Fail leadership was not standing up to the promises which it had made at previous elections. Then Mr Blaney addressed himself to the people of the North: "You will get the six counties back in spite of the southern politicians who believe otherwise. Let us have an end to British occupation. We are standing on this side of the border and we are permitting real brutality being perpetrated."

At Letterkenny on Saturday he made his most direct plea to nationalist supporters: "Give shelter to those who come to you, give them aid, give them money, and anything that might be useful to them. Let the people who are carrying on the struggle in the six counties know that you are with them. This is a continuation of 1916 and 1921 and it can never be finished until the whole country is free."

Mr Blaney said the real issue was that the Fianna Fail leadership was not standing up to the promises which it had made at previous elections.

Then Mr Blaney addressed himself to the people of the North: "You will get the six counties back in spite of the southern politicians who believe otherwise. Let us have an end to British occupation. We are standing on this side of the border and we are permitting real brutality being perpetrated."

At Letterkenny on Saturday he made his most direct plea to nationalist supporters: "Give shelter to those who come to you, give them aid, give them money, and anything that might be useful to them. Let the people who are carrying on the struggle in the six counties know that you are with them. This is a continuation of 1916 and 1921 and it can never be finished until the whole country is free."

Mr Blaney said the real issue was that the Fianna Fail leadership was not standing up to the promises which it had made at previous elections.

Then Mr Blaney addressed himself to the people of the North: "You will get the six counties back in spite of the southern politicians who believe otherwise. Let us have an end to British occupation. We are standing on this side of the border and we are permitting real brutality being perpetrated."

THE WEATHER

AROUND BRITAIN

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

AROUND THE WORLD

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. on Saturday:

Reports for the 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

Cold with some rain

A depression over Europe maintains cold N winds over in of Britain, while trough of pressure advance from the

England and Wales will be with sunny spells. Sleet or snow is expected near the coast, but most other parts will dry. Over Scotland and N Ireland cloud will spread from the

Irish coast, but most other parts will dry. Over Scotland and N Ireland cloud will spread from the

Irish coast, but most other parts will dry. Over Scotland and N Ireland cloud will spread from the

Irish coast, but most other parts will dry. Over Scotland and N Ireland cloud will spread from the

Irish coast, but most other parts will dry. Over Scotland and N Ireland cloud will spread from the

Irish coast, but most other parts will dry. Over Scotland and N Ireland cloud will spread from the

Irish coast, but most other parts will dry. Over Scotland and N Ireland cloud will spread from the

Who's who (and who does what) in computer services?

goSuu provides the answers in one slim volume.

A brand new Guide and Directory to computer services and bureaux has just been published by the Computer Services and Bureaux Association. This invaluable reference book lists all the computer service houses within COSBA, as well as itemising the services offered by each member—applications of all types, computer time hire, remote terminal services, software, consultancy etc. With all COSBA members conforming to the same high standard of professional conduct and practice, it is in your own interests to send for a copy of this Directory. Just complete the coupon below and we'll be pleased to send you one—free and without obligation.

To: Computer Services and Bureaux Association (COSBA) Leicester House, 8 Leicester Street, London, WC2H 7BN

Please send me a complimentary copy of the COSBA Guide and Directory to computer services and bureaux.

NAME _____
TITLE _____
COMPANY _____
ADDRESS _____
G/22/11/71

goSuu The Computer word for Confidence